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THE LITERATURE OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE

The Literature of
THE ENGLISH BIBLE

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PREFACE

THE purpose of this book is to provide adequate material for an intelligent reading and study of the Bible as a part of English literature. In presenting both information and comment, I have endeavored always to keep in mind the lay reader of the Bible in English, specifically, the English Bible as it has been immortalized in the classic King James Version. Although, as one will of course realize, I have not attempted the impossible task of mastering the voluminous literature on the Bible, I believe that I have read most of the books and articles in our own language which relate primarily to the Bible as literature, particularly to the book as English literature. From such reading, I have gleaned what seem to be the most reliable information and the most authoritative critical opinion on the subject. Such informational and critical and illustrative material has of course been supplemented, colored, determined, to a certain extent, by the personal reactions which are bound to arise in the mind of every student of the universal literature of the Bible. The results of my study I have tried to present in the form of a compact, systematic, comprehensive, authoritative account of all of the writings which appeared in the King James Version of 1611.

Back of what will at once rightly strike the critical reader as a 'secondary' treatment, to which the writings of the English Bible have been subjected, there stand out clearly in memory's eye, the many 'interpreters' who are responsible in great part for the contents. An attempt has been made (1) in the bibliography which is given at the close of the book, to list those books and articles which have been most serviceable; and

(2), in the footnotes which are attached to direct quotations or to particular discussions, to record specific obligations. To the authors of all of these writings of so many different sorts and ages, I here acknowledge my great indebtedness. Although it is difficult for me to single out from my 'sources' those on which I have leaned most heavily, I feel that I must at least mention Adeney, Bewer, Bennett, Driver, Fowler, Gray, Jastrow, Macdonald, Oesterley and Robinson, Scott, and the learned contributors to the *Encyclopaedia Biblica* as the writers who have probably been of the greatest service.

W. O. S.

Purnell Hall
July 1938

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THE LITERATURE OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE

THE LITERATURE OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE

INTRODUCTION

THE BIBLE

The Bible as English Literature. So many different meanings and usages are attached to the phrase 'The Bible' that it is desirable at the very outset to understand exactly what is meant when people speak of the Bible as a part of English Literature. To Jews of the modern world, as well as to the Hebrews of the era before Christ, the *Bible*, or the *Holy Scriptures*, means the 'Old Testament,' consisting of the Law, the Prophets, and the Writings. To Christians of the modern world, the Bible consists of (1) these writings of the Old Testament; (2) the writings of the New Testament, a record of the life and work and teaching of the founder of the Christian religion and of his immediate followers; and (3), with certain reservations as to interpretation and use, the books of the Apocrypha, writings composed approximately during the last three centuries of the era before Christ, and for the first time attached to the Hebrew Bible in the Greek translation known as the Septuagint. Of the many translations into English of the whole Bible, extending from the fourteenth to the twentieth century A.D., one only deserves the distinction of being regarded as a part of English literature — the King James Version of 1611. Later versions or translations — such as the English Revised of 1885 or the American Standard of 1901 — are often more accurate in their

rendering of the Hebrew or Greek originals; but only in the rarest instances, if at all, more effective in beauty or power of literary expression. For reasons which will appear later, the King James Version is the real 'English Bible,' an enduring classic of our national literature.[1]

Contents and nature of the Bible. The Bible as it appeared in the original version of 1611 and as, with certain differences which may easily be indicated, it is read today by Christian peoples, consists of three main parts: the Old Testament, the Apocrypha, and the New Testament. The thirty-seven books of the Old Testament constitute the Hebrew Bible, as it has existed virtually since about A.D. 100. In this book are preserved the records of the ancient Hebrews — their laws, their history, their literature, and their religion. The fourteen books of the Apocrypha are writings of various kinds which are similar to the writings of the Old Testament, and were composed during the closing centuries of the era before Christ,[2] but which for one reason or another have never been accepted by the Hebrews as a part of their sacred scriptures, and are not regarded by all Christians as of equal value with the writings of the Old Testament. In the Roman Catholic Bible, no distinction is made be-

1. The Bible has been translated into more than 900 different languages or dialects. In two only of the literatures which belong to such languages, however, has the Bible become a part of the national literature — in German, the Luther translation; in English, the King James. But even in Germany the Protestant Bible in the vernacular has not had the influence on national thought and life and literature which is usually ascribed to the great English vernacular version. So, the 'uniqueness' of the phenomenon may properly be attached only to the English book. In a discussion of the influence of the Bible on a particular people — let us say English — caution must always be exercised in distinguishing between the influence of the Bible as the Bible, and of the Bible in a particular version. For Chaucer, the 'Bible' was the Latin Vulgate; for Shakespeare, it seems, the Genevan version; for Ruskin, we know, the King James Version.
2. The composition of some of the books may possibly be dated in the early years of the New Era.

tween these so-called Apocryphal writings and the other books of the Old Testament. But in Protestant Bibles in English, these writings either appear in a section by themselves between the two Testaments or, as is usually the case today, are omitted entirely. The twenty-seven books of the New Testament are writings of the early Christians which set forth the teachings of this new religion and to which were attached the books of the Old Testament and the Apocrypha (not without exceptions, however) to form what is now known as the Bible of Christianity.

In this one volume, a book of many books, all now regarded as constituting a book of religion, are found the most varied kinds of literature—myth, folk-lore, legend, historical narrative, short-story, poetry (lyric, narrative, dramatic, didactic), essay, biographical narrative, epistle or letter, vision. It is thus not only a significant book of religion but also a great work of world literature.

Composition of the Book. The composition of the books of the Bible covered, roughly speaking, a period of about 1000 years, from 850 B.C. to A.D. 150. These general limits may be extended in each direction to include writings of a somewhat earlier date which were incorporated in the Old Testament and, possibly, writings of a somewhat later date which now form a part of the New Testament. All of the books of the Bible must be thought of as having had originally a separate existence, of being preserved, collected, compiled, and edited by successive individuals in various ages of Hebrew and Jewish history, and of finally being recognized as a single book of the Christian religion. The books of the Old Testament were written and edited between about 850 B.C. and 200 B.C.; of the Apocrypha, between about 300 B.C. and A.D. 100, most of them dating before the Christian era; of the New Testament, be-

tween about A.D. 50 and A.D. 150, most of them dating before the close of the first century.

The recognition of the books of the Old Testament as Hebrew sacred scriptures began at some time before 300 B.C. but was not completed until about A.D. 100, when at the Council of Jamnia, it is thought, the Canon—that is, the official list of books—was finally established. The acceptance by the Christian church of the Hebrew Scriptures as sacred Christian writings occurred in the first century A.D. The final recognition of the books of the New Testament as sacred writings of the Christian church took place shortly after the middle of the fourth century, the year A.D. 367, when Athanasius in his Easter letter enumerated the books as we now have them, being accepted as a definite date for the New Testament Canon. About the books of the Apocrypha, both of the Old Testament and of the New Testament, differences of opinion have existed from the time of their composition even down to the present age.[1] The Jews themselves, after about A.D. 100, would have none of the Old Testament Apocrypha. The early Christians looked with favour upon the Old Testament Apocrypha, and even accepted some of the New Testament Apocrypha as worthy of inclusion in the sacred scriptures.[2] Since the early Middle Ages none of the New Testament Apocrypha has appeared in a Christian Bible; in 1546, the Roman Catholic Church officially approved the inclusion of the Old Testament Apocrypha; the Protestant Church accepts the Old Testament Apocrypha, if at all, with reservations.

The whole Bible is a product of Hebrew or Jewish life and thought. Most of the writings originated in Palestine, that little country lying to the east of the Mediterranean Sea and ex-

1. At least, with respect to the Old Testament Apocrypha.
2. See, for example, the Codex Sinaiticus, 4th century, Codex Alexandrinus, 5th century, and various historic lists (Goodspeed, *Formation of the New Testament*, pp.187ff.).

tending roughly from Dan in the north to Beersheba in the south, a few of the writings of the New Testament probably emanating from cities of the Mediterranean world such as Ephesus or Antioch or, in the case of Mark, even from Rome.

The original languages of the Bible are, for the Old Testament, Hebrew, with slight evidences of Aramaic, both Semitic languages, the latter finally becoming the spoken language of Palestine in the time of Jesus; for the Old Testament Apocrypha, Hebrew or Greek; for the New Testament, Greek, with the possibility of Aramaic originals for some of the books.[1] The Latin language was the great medium of transmission of the Bible to the peoples of western Europe. The process of translation into the vernacular languages began in the early Middle Ages, took on new life in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and has continued with unabated fervour down to the immediate present.

Authorship in the old Hebrew world counted for little, and for not much more even in early Christian times. So the writings of most of the books of both the Old and the New Testaments are anonymous. Names are attached to a few specific writings, such as the books of the Prophets in the Old Testament and the Gospels in the New, but for the most part we are in ignorance as to the individuals who were responsible for the books as they arose during the ages or as they have come down to us. Indeed, the Prophets are the only authors of whom we have a fairly clear picture as individuals, and even about some of these, for instance, the great poet or poets of Isaiah xl–lxvi, there hangs a misty curtain of uncertain possibilities.

Preservation and Transmission

Manuscript copies. A long history of writing, copying, translating, and printing lies behind the printed English version

1. See, for instance, C.C.Torrey, *Our Translated Gospels*, p.ix.

of 1611. The writing of the Old Testament books was done originally in Hebrew in the form of rolls, the material of which was either papyrus or parchment. These rolls were preserved separately or in small collections. Although the books of the Old Testament were composed approximately between the ninth and the second century B.C., the earliest extant copies in Hebrew date not earlier than the ninth century A.D. For this long intervening period, scholars have to depend for their knowledge as to what might have been the original form of these writings first, on the fairly certain knowledge that from the end of the second century A.D. on, the Hebrew manuscripts were carefully copied, and that thus the extant ninth or tenth century manuscripts are accurate reproductions of the early manuscripts; and second, on the evidence of the Greek manuscripts, which go back as far as the fourth and fifth centuries A.D., and for certain parts of the Old Testament even to the second and third centuries A.D.[1] These Greek manuscripts have preserved for us the sacred writings of the Hebrews as they were translated into Greek in Alexandria during the last three centuries B.C. These manuscripts are in the form of codices, that is, manuscripts in book form, the most famous of which are the Codex Sinaiticus (British Museum), the Codex Vaticanus (Vatican Library), and the Codex Alexandrinus (British Museum). They contain among themselves practically the whole of both the Greek Old Testament (the Septuagint) and the Greek New Testament. One other early medieval manuscript copy of the whole Bible, and this a Latin translation, must be mentioned here — the Latin Vulgate of Bishop Jerome (Eusebius Hieronymus), made at the close of the fourth century A.D. on the basis of the existing Hebrew, Greek, and Old Latin manuscripts. This Latin Bible was the great Bible of the

1. Witness the celebrated Chester Beatty Papyri, which for Numbers and Deuteronomy and other parts of the Old Testament take us back to this earlier period.

western church all through the Middle Ages and is now virtually the official Bible of the Roman Catholic Church.

Early printed editions. For the next great event in the history of the transmission of the Bible, lay students or readers of the English Bible must be content to pass over eleven centuries of manuscript copying and translation and thus face the publication of what is probably the most significant book of the world — the so-called Gutenberg Bible. The event is the appearance of the first printed book in Europe, the Latin Vulgate; the date is 1456; the printers were Gutenberg and Fust at Mainz, Germany. Sixty years later, in 1516, there appeared the first printed edition of any part of the Bible in either of the original languages, the Greek New Testament of the Dutch scholar Erasmus. This was followed shortly, 1522, by the publication of Cardinal Ximenes' edition of the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin texts, called from the name of the town in Spain where the work was done (Complutus) the Complutensian Polyglot. In the same year, there appeared a book which is of great interest to students of the English Bible, the New Testament in German of Martin Luther, of special interest because of the use that was made of it by our first great English translator, William Tyndale.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE

The Bible before Wycliffe

The Caedmonian paraphrases. For the beginnings of the translation of the Bible into English, we must go back from the time of the first printed Bibles to the days of Caedmon and Cynewulf and Bede. The earliest extant English translations of parts of the Bible are the so-called Caedmonian paraphrases, which are preserved in the Bodleian Junius XI MS. It has

been called the Caedmon MS. because for a long while the author was thought to be the late seventh-century Anglo-Saxon poet, Caedmon, concerning whom we have the well-known account of Bede (*Eccles.Hist.*, Book IV, Chapter xxiv). It is possible, scholars now think, that parts of the poems in this MS. may belong to Caedmon (part of Genesis or, less likely, part of Exodus), but in the whole body of the work seven hands may be discerned. The MS. includes the Genesis, the Exodus, the Daniel, the Fall of the Angels, the Descent into Hell, and the Temptation.[1]

I Genesis A, vv.1–234 and vv.582ff., late seventh or early eighth century, Northumbria.

II Genesis B, vv.235–581, translation from an O.S. poem, not before second half ninth century, probably Kentish. [Of especial interest, by reason of its possible relation to Milton's picture of Satan in *Paradise Lost.*]

III A poem on Exodus, late seventh or early eighth century, probably Northumbrian.

IV A passage in Exodus, possibly from another poem of about the same date.

V A poem of the early eighth century, containing stories from the book of Daniel.

VI A passage inserted into the Daniel containing the Song of Azarias and that of the 'Three Holy Children,' handwriting of early eleventh century, West Saxon copy.

VII Three short poems in another hand in a copy of the same date.

The most important of remaining attempts in Anglo-Saxon times and in the medieval period before Wycliffe to present the Bible in the vernacular may be briefly summarized:

I The Gospel of John, Chapters i–vi:9, attributed to Bede

1. For the following summary of the contents, I am indebted to E.E.Wardale's *Old English Literature* (London, 1935), pp.136,137.

(d.A.D. 735) by Cuthbert in a letter to Cuthwine – not extant.[1]

II The Psalters

A The Vespasian Psalter (MS. Brit.Museum), consisting of a gloss, or interlinear version, of the Roman Psalter, dating from the ninth century.

B The Paris Psalter (MS. Bibl.Natl., Paris), consisting of Psalms i–li:8 in prose, attributed in whole or in part to Alfred (d.901), and Psalms lii:6–cl in verse, attributed to Aldhelm (d.709), both attributions, especially the latter, being of doubtful authenticity, the entire MS. to be dated not later than the beginning of the tenth century.

C The fourteenth-century prose renderings of the Psalms by William of Shoreham and by Richard Rolle of Hampole.

III The Gospels, glosses and translations

A The Lindisfarne Gospels, known also as the Durham Book or the Book of St.Cuthbert (MS. Brit.Museum), the Northumbrian gloss being made about A.D. 950.

B The Rushworth Version (MS. Bodleian), consisting of a gloss of Mark, Luke, and John and an independent translation of Matthew, dating probably in the tenth century.

C The West Saxon Gospels (seven MSS., of which MS. CXL of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, is the best), a translation of the Gospels, dating probably in the last decade of the tenth century.

IV Abbot Aelfric (d. *c.*1020?) Prose translations of the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Kings, Job, Esther, Judith,

1. For a translation of the letter, taken from J.Lingard's *History of the Saxon Church*, vol.2,pp.197–200, see J.H.Penniman, *A Book about the English Bible* (New York, 1920), pp.328,329.

and the Maccabees, dating from the close of the tenth century or the first years of the eleventh century.

V *Judith* (MS. Brit.Museum), a poetic translation, 350 lines in length, of parts of the Apocryphal book of Judith, composed probably between 800 and 937, but date, place, and authorship all being uncertain or unknown.

VI *Ormulum* (MS. Bodleian), a metrical version of the Gospels and the Acts, about 20,000 lines in length, written by an Augustinian monk, Ormin or Orm, dating about A.D. 1215.

The Wycliffe Bible

Most of the foregoing translations of parts of the Bible into English and other sporadic renderings which appeared in the fourteenth century were made primarily for the use of unlearned ecclesiastics. They are of great historical but of little literary value, and they exercised no direct influence on the first significant attempt to present the Bible in English to the ordinary English layman. Between the years 1384–1395, the whole of the Bible was translated into English directly from the Latin Vulgate by a group of scholars associated with the great English reformer, John Wycliffe. This is the first complete Bible in English. Two versions of this Bible are in existence: for the earlier, which appeared not later than 1384, one Nicholas Hereford seems to have been chiefly responsible, although Wycliffe himself may have contributed to the work; and for the latter, John Purvey, Wycliffe's secretary, to whom has also been ascribed the General Prologue, the first landmark in the history of comments on the importance of the reading of the Bible by English speaking people in their own language. Purvey may also have played a part in the first translation. Although the translators followed the text of the Vul-

gate in the positions of the 'Apocryphal' books among the writings of the Old Testament, they yet recognized a difference, as may be gathered from the General Prologue, between the validity of these books and of the other so-called 'canonical' writings.[1] The editor's statement here as to his not translating the third book of Esdras is confusing. This book does appear in our printed Wycliffe Bible. The explanation is that a third reviser worked over the two existing versions, revised the third Esdras from the earlier of the two versions, inasmuch as it did not appear in the second [Purvey's ?] version, and so we have two versions of this book as well as of the other Apocryphal books (see Bodleian MS.277).

The Wycliffe manuscript Bible had an extensive circulation in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. About 170 copies are now in existence. The book was not printed in its entirety until 1850, when there appeared the great four-volume edition by Forshall and Madden.[2] The influence of the Wycliffe translation on Tyndale and succeeding translators seems to have been entirely negligible. Within 150 years, the English language had undergone such changes as to make fourteenth-century English a strange if not rude speech for the English scholar of the early Renaissance,

> and wordes tho
> That hadden pris, now wonder nyce and straunge
> Us thinketh hem . . .

And so, Tyndale and Coverdale and the rest went back to the Latin or the Hebrew or the Greek and even over to the Ger-

1. 'Fyue and twenty bookis of the olde testament,' said the translator in Chapter I of the General Prologue, 'ben bookis of feith, and fulli bookis of holy writ. . . . And what euer book in the olde testament is out of these fyue and twenty byfore seid, shal be set among apocrifa, that is, with outen autorite of bileue. . . .

'And therefore Y translatide not the thridde neither the fourthe book of Esdre, that been apocrifa.'

2. The Wycliffe New Testament, second version, was printed in 1731.

man, and our first complete English translation remained, unregarded, as a solitary dim beacon on the broad pathway of English Bible translations.[1]

The Sixteenth-Century Translations and Versions

William Tyndale. The most significant single name in the history of the development of the English Bible down to the classic version of 1611 is William Tyndale, scholar, gifted writer of English prose, reformer, martyr, born in Gloucestershire, England, *c.*1494, and executed in Vilvorde, Belgium, 1536. To Tyndale we are indebted for the first printed English New Testament, the first printed edition of considerable parts of the Old Testament, the first English translation of parts of the Bible based on the Hebrew and Greek texts, and above all for the setting up of a standard of English style for all subsequent translations or versions of the Bible. His translations comprise

1 The New Testament, 1525—quarto edition at Cologne, a fragment only, 62 pages, being preserved in the British Museum.

——quarto edition at Worms, not extant.

——octavo edition at Worms, preserved in the library of the Baptist College at Bristol, England.

Of the successive editions that followed shortly, the most important are those of 1534 and 1535. For the New Testament, Tyndale used, independently, the Greek Text, and also Erasmus's 1522 edition of the Greek New Testament with a Latin translation, the Vulgate, and Luther's New Testament of 1522.

1. The probability of specific influence of Wycliffe's manuscript translation even on the Genevan version has not yet been demonstrated. Some new light on the problem may result from the studies, now being carried on by an American scholar, Mr.C.C.Butterworth of Mt.Airy, Philadelphia, on the literary lineage of the King James Bible.

2 The Pentateuch, 1530; revised edition in 1534.
3 The Book of Jonah, with a lengthy Prologue, 1531.
4 Lessons from the Old Testament appointed to be read in the liturgy instead of the Epistles, appended to the 1534 New Testament.
5 Manuscripts of other parts of the Old Testament as far as 2 Chronicles, left in the hands of John Rogers, and generally attributed to Tyndale himself.[1]

For the Old Testament, Tyndale used the Hebrew text, supplemented by recourse to the Vulgate and Luther and the Septuagint.

Myles Coverdale. The honour of giving to the world the first complete printed English Bible belongs to Coverdale. The first issue of this German folio black-letter English Bible appeared on the Continent in 1535. The printed sheets for a second issue were brought to England, bound, and dated 1535 and 1536. A second edition in folio and quarto was printed by Nicolson in Southwark, England, in 1537, and this edition was undoubtedly the first complete Bible to be printed in England. The Coverdale Bible is a secondary translation; that is, Coverdale did not go back to the Hebrew and Greek texts. His 'five interpreters' are thought to be (1) the Swiss-German Bible by Zwingli and Juda, 1529; (2) Luther; (3) the Vulgate; (4) Pagninus' Latin translation of 1528; and (5) Tyndale. This is the first Bible in which the 'non-canonical' books were taken out of the body of the Old Testament and placed by themselves between the two testaments under the title of *Apocripha.* Although the Coverdale Bible is in part a verbatim reprint of the Tyndale New Testament, which was banned by

1. In his *William Tyndale* (New York, 1937), pp.179–185, J.F.Mozley presents a convincing argument for the Tyndale authorship of the translation of this section of the Old Testament, Joshua to 2 Chronicles.

the King, the edition of 1537 was 'set forth with the Kynge's moost gracious licence.'

Matthew's Bible. This folio black-letter Bible was based directly on Tyndale and Coverdale. The author and editor, John Rogers, used Tyndale's 1535 New Testament, the Pentateuch, and the manuscript translation of the Old Testament from Joshua to 2 Chronicles, and Coverdale's version of the Apocrypha and of the Old Testament from the end of Chronicles. This version was definitely authorized by the King. It formed the real basis of later revisions. John Rogers, like his master, Tyndale, suffered a martyr's fate, having been burned to death at Smithfield in 1555.

Taverner's Bible. Of no especial importance, but for the sake of completeness necessary to be listed here, is the version of an independent scholar and reviser, Richard Taverner, which appeared in 1539.

The Great Bible. Need having been felt for a better English text, free from controversial annotation, Coverdale was commissioned by Thomas Cromwell to prepare a new translation. This large folio black-letter Bible, with a frontispiece now ascribed to Hans Holbein, appeared in 1539. It was officially authorized by church and state. It represents the mature work of Coverdale as a translator. Of the seven editions which appeared within two years, the second (1540) contained the Preface by Cranmer, which holds in English Biblical history a somewhat analogous position to Wordsworth's Preface to the *Lyrical Ballads* (1800) in English literary history. For the Old Testament, Coverdale used practically Matthew's Bible corrected by the aid of Munster's Latin translation of 1535; for the New Testament, Tyndale, revised by reference to the Latin of Erasmus and to the Complutensian Polyglot.

The Genevan Bible. In the favourable atmosphere for Biblical study, created under the influence of Calvin, English Protestant refugees from the persecutions during the reign of Queen Mary made a new translation of the Bible, which embodied the latest results of Biblical criticism and, by reason of its handy size, its printing in 'verses,' and its marginal annotations, was destined to become the most popular Protestant Bible until finally supplanted by the King James Version. The New Testament, with a prefatory epistle by Calvin, appeared in 1557; the whole Bible, with a dedication to Queen Elizabeth, in 1560. The Great Bible was used as a basis and recourse was had to the best Latin and French versions. No fewer than 140 editions appeared between 1560 and 1640; it was especially popular in Scotland, where it held a high place in the esteem of the people till long after the King James Version appeared; the last edition was probably issued in 1644.

The Bishops' Bible. As the title indicates, this Bible was done in the main by the Bishops of the Church of England. It was designed, in opposition to the Genevan Bible, to provide the Church with a more authoritative Bible. The work, a very handsome book, was published in 1568. It followed primarily the Great Bible of 1539–1540 and made good use of the Genevan version. Until the King James Version appeared, it competed in popularity and in use in the church with the version of the Genevan scholars.

The Rheims-Douay Bible. Influenced partly, at least, by the great vogue of the Genevan version with its polemical annotations, Roman Catholic scholars, English refugees from the persecutions during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, prepared a new translation into English based directly on the Latin Vulgate. The New Testament appeared at Rheims in 1582; the

Old Testament, at Douay in 1609–10. The linguistic influence of this version on the classic Protestant English version of 1611 was not inconsiderable.

The King James Version. At the opening of the seventeenth century in England, three great Protestant English versions of the Bible were in circulation – the Great Bible, the Genevan, and the Bishops. Two of these – the Great Bible and the Bishops – were officially recognized for use in public worship. But a demand arose for a better translation. King James himself said, 'I have never yet seen a Bible well translated into English, and the worst of all . . . is the Genevan.' The idea of the translation was definitely suggested at the Hampton Court Conference in 1604. It met with the approval of the King and the Prelates. The work was begun in 1607. Forty-seven persons actually took part. The work of translating was divided among six companies – three for the Old Testament, two for the New Testament, and one for the Apocrypha. The translations were reviewed by all. The attitude of the translators and the nature of their revision are indicated in the following extracts from *The Translators to the Reader*:[1] 'Truly (good Christian Reader) wee never thought from the beginning, that we should neede to make a new Translation, nor yet to make of a bad one a good one . . . but to make a good one better, or out of many good ones, one principall good one, not justly to be excepted against . . . Neither did wee thinke much to consult the Translators or Commentators, Chaldee, Hebrewe, Syrian, Greeke, or Latine, no nor the Spanish, French, Italian, or Dutch; neither did we disdaine to revise that which we had done, and to bring backe to the anuill that which we had ham-

1. Published in a modern dress, with an Introduction, by Edgar J. Goodspeed, University of Chicago Press, 1935.

mered . . .' As the result of a scholarly use of all the available resources of the time, these men succeeded in fashioning a version which remained for two hundred and fifty years and more the acknowledged official Bible of the English Protestant Church and the universally adopted book of religion and of life for the great majority of English-speaking people.

Modern Versions, Translations, and Editions

Revised versions. New editions of the 1611 version, with slight revisions, appeared during the first half of the seventeenth century. Then, in the long period from 1653 to 1870, repeated demands were made for a complete revision. In this latter year, the work was undertaken by the Convocation of Canterbury. A committee was appointed, companies were designated for the two Testaments, and scholars from both England and America added to the group. The New Testament was published in 1881 ; the Old Testament, in 1885 ; the Apocrypha, in 1895. Meanwhile, American scholars were at work on a version which they felt would meet more adequately their scholarly interpretations and renderings. The American Standard Version appeared in 1901.

Recent translations and editions. Of the attempts that have been made in the twentieth century to provide a more accurate or a more readable English Bible, the following only will be mentioned here :

Richard G.Moulton, *The Modern Reader's Bible.* One-volume edition. New York, 1914.

J.M.Powis Smith and Edgar J.Goodspeed, *The Bible. An American Translation.* Chicago, 1931.

James Moffatt, *A New Translation of the Bible.* Revised edition. New York, 1935.

THE CLASSIC ENGLISH VERSION

In this long history of English translations or versions of the Bible, a single landmark indicates the end of a period of development which, by not too great a stretch of the imagination, may be said to go back for two thousand years to the Greek-Jewish culture of Alexandria and to the Hebrew culture of Jerusalem and Palestine; a towering monument marks the highest point of perfection to which English-speaking people have yet attained in the expression of their deepest thoughts and noblest emotions. The King James Version has a rare distinction. As a translation from two great languages of antiquity, the Hebrew and the Greek, it has given to the world a literature greater than that of the original tongues. It is further the most astounding phenomenon in literature in that this book which records the legends, the song, and the history and incorporates the religious belief of one people should not only be accepted as the book of religion, but should also be regarded as a literary masterpiece of a nation into whose language the book has been translated.

Long before the King James Version appeared, the Bible had been accepted as the great book of religion of English-speaking people. The Latin Bible of the Middle Ages was the Bible of the church in England as in other countries of Europe; through the church, its teachings were communicated to the people. For the Protestant church, the English translations of the sixteenth century gradually supplanted the Latin Vulgate; by the middle of the seventeenth century, the King James Version had pretty generally supplanted the Genevan and Bishops versions; today, the Revised Versions of 1885 and 1901 have largely supplanted the King James Version as a book of religion. The story of the acceptance of the King James Version of the Bible as a part of English literature is quite different.

The fine literary qualities of the Bible, especially of the Old Testament, had been recognized even in the early Middle Ages; in the sixteenth century, many English people were aware that in the English translations which had so far appeared there were prose and poetry of high literary merit;[1] but not until the nineteenth century did there exist, and then only among what may be called the 'cultivated classes,' a recognition of the surpassing excellence of the King James Version as a work of English literature. As we think then of this great version as not only a book of religion but also a book of literature, we may well ask the question: What is the fundamental characteristic of this book which explains its persistent and powerful influence over English-speaking men and women and its resultant commanding position in English literature? The answer will involve the merging of the conception of a single version, superb as it may be, into the conception of a book in many versions, the conception of the English Bible as a great book of life. The English Bible exerts its continued influence in literature and life because it presents in a form which appeals to man's sense of overpowering beauty in expression, through terms of concrete human experience, a philosophy of life, a religion, a conception of man's place in the universe and of his relation to a higher power which satisfies the universal longing of mankind for an explanation of the mystery of existence. A great book in any literature is a book which by virtue of its author's lofty imagination, sympathetic understanding, and noble style presents with a universal appeal the deepest problems of life and expresses the ideals and ideas which reflect the permanent essentials of the national genius. Among such books in English literature, the Bible stands supreme.

Two further questions may now be asked and an attempt at

1. See an excellent essay by Israel Baroway, 'The Bible as Poetry in the English Renaissance,' in *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* (Urbana, Illinois), vol.32 (1935), pp.447–480.

an answer made : How is this King James Version, with all of its excellence, to be accounted for ? and What are the distinguishing characteristics of the book as a part of English literature ? In answer to the former question it may be said :

(1) That back of this version lay the books of the Bible in their original tongues and in the Latin, the great literary language of the Middle Ages. The Bible in the Hebrew gave to the translators its simplicity, concreteness, sensuousness, figurative language, vivid imagery, intensity, homeliness. In the vernacular Greek of the New Testament and of the Septuagint, they found the qualities of clearness, symmetry, finish, flexibility, strength, vigour. Most striking was the influence of the Latin Vulgate, with its sonority, its rhythmic stateliness, its finely rounded-out periods.

(2) That these translators had at their service not only the many early-Renaissance fresh translations into Latin and into the vernacular tongues of Europe, but also the long line of English translations from Tyndale in 1525 to the Rheims-Douay of 1609–1610. Of the English versions, that of William Tyndale has been regarded as responsible for much of the merit of the version of 1611. There is no question that Tyndale set the standard of expression for all subsequent English translations. Much of the simplicity, earnestness, directness, strong rhythm, and imagery – the distinguishing qualities of the King James Version – are to be found in Tyndale.[1] But, aside from other considerations which will be suggested shortly, it may confidently be said that had it not been for the succeeding English translators, notably Coverdale, the Genevan scholars, and the Rheims-Douay translators, the classic version of 1611 would not be what it is today, and further, that apart from the King James Version no English version of the Bible

1. See 'Tindale and the English Language,' an essay by G.D.Bone, in S.L. Greenslade's *The Work of William Tindale* (London, 1938), pp.50–68.

could possibly be regarded as a masterpiece of English literature.

(3) That the King James Version of the Bible came into existence at a favourable moment. It was a period of great spiritual stress and of lofty literary expression. These translators lived at the end of a period of national, spiritual, and literary development which gave us Shakespeare and Bacon, Raleigh and Hooker, Latimer and Knox. A great age produced a great book. It could not have come into existence even in the age of Erasmus, Luther, and Tyndale.

(4) That the translators were men of fine scholarship and of intense earnestness, who worked together with the one aim of making a better book.

(5) That — what is, no doubt, the most essential of the determining influences or factors — there was a vital inspiration back of this book. Of the nature of this inspiration, the following comment by Dean George Hodges represents to the present writer the last word to be said on the subject and it is therefore quoted here at length:

> For this vital inspiration, as the Bible itself suggests, is not peculiar to religion. Neither is it essentially different in religion from what it is in other fields of life. People used to ask, when this doctrine was debated, how the inspiration of Isaiah differed from the inspiration of Shakespeare or of St. Augustine. There was never any very satisfactory answer. It was like asking how the genius of the one differed from the genius of the others. The 'spirit of God,' as it says in the Old Testament, was upon them all: also upon Michael Angelo and Raphael, upon Copernicus and Newton, upon Washington and Lincoln. Each of these men was so uncommonly filled with power, or with wisdom, or with insight, or with the knowledge of the truth, that he perceived, and his neighbors perceived also, that he was moved of God. That seemed the most direct and simple explanation. The divine impulse and the divine guidance did not relieve them from the necessity of work, neither

did it insure them against making mistakes; neither did it obliterate their individuality, rather it emphasized it. What it did was so to vitalize them, so to enrich and strengthen their souls, that they were able to do great deeds, and to think great thoughts. These men, whether they wrote books of the Bible, or built churches, or ruled states, or made any other contribution to the progress of the world, were inspired of God.[1]

The result of their endeavours is before us — a book of many books with a unity and perfection of character which controls and distinguishes the whole — from the first words of Genesis, 'In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth,' to the closing words of Revelation, 'I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, the first and the last.'

The second of the two questions that were proposed a moment ago must now be briefly considered. The complete answer will come to him only who yields himself unreservedly to the influence of the varied writings of this great library of books. 'What are the distinguishing characteristics of the King James Version as a part of English literature?' The first general stylistic characteristic, a quality which at first thought would seem almost incredible, is the unity of tone, of phrasing, of rhythm, of structure throughout the whole book. This English translation for which so many different scholars were responsible reads as if it might have been the work of a single literary genius. The specific characteristics of style have been enumerated or suggested in the preceding analysis of influences. To many of the qualities of the Hebrew original, particularly, the native Anglo-Saxon speech provided a powerful supplement; for the qualities of the Greek original and of the primary language of translation, the Latin, the English language offered an effective medium of adaptation. So we find in the completed

1. From *How to Know the Bible* (pp.30,31), by George Hodges, copyright 1918, used by special permission of the Publishers, The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

product this marvellous combination of native resources and foreign influences.

Apart from the greatness of the subject matter of the book — the universality of human experience to which an appeal is therein made — the specific qualities of expression that characterize this great book of English literature may possibly be concisely summarized as follows:

1 The earnestness, sincerity, genuineness, intensity of feeling.
2 The simplicity, directness, clearness of the language.
3 The preponderating use of Anglo-Saxon words and of native idioms.
4 Concreteness.
5 The compression, moderation, vigour, dignity, and sublimity of expression.
6 Picturesque, natural, homely, apt imagery.
7 Rhythmic flow of language.
8 Finish of the style. Not a word can be changed without destroying the perfection of the original.

THE OLD TESTAMENT

INTRODUCTION

General Statement. The books of the Old Testament as they appear in the King James Version are 39 in number. Arranged somewhat differently, but not differing in number or contents, they constitute the Hebrew Bible—at the time of final canonization consisting of the Law (Five Books of Moses, Torah, Pentateuch); the Prophets—the former prophets, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, and the latter prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Twelve; the Hagiographa (Sacred Writings, The Writings), Psalms, Proverbs, Job, the five festival Rolls (Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther), Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles. According to the original reckoning of the synagogue, the twelve minor prophets count as one book, as do Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles respectively, the number of books thus being reduced from 39 to 24. All of these books are found in the Roman Catholic Bible, and in addition, appearing in one position or another, the so-called Apocrypha, writings which are printed in a separate section, if they appear at all, in modern Protestant Bibles.

These books of the Old Testament comprise the remains of one of the two great ancient literatures of the world, Hebrew and Greek, which, translated into the various vernacular languages, have most greatly influenced Western civilization. How much of Hebrew literature has not survived, it is impossible to say; sufficient to say that what has been transmitted to the modern world is enough to justify its position of parallel pre-eminence with the Greek. These writings cover almost the

entire range of human interest and experience. Here is history, popular and learned (Genesis, Exodus, Samuel, Kings): philosophy, practical, religious, and cosmic (Proverbs, Job, Ecclesiastes, and Prophecy); and poetry, lyric, meditative, rhapsodic (the Psalms and Isaiah). In its final form, written to show the hand of Jehovah in determining the history of the Hebrew people, it succeeds, in a way almost miraculous, in interpreting, through the subtle alchemy of effective expression, the deep emotions and the profound thoughts of men and women of all ages.

The course of development through which these writings passed through the ten centuries from the time of David (*c.*1000 B.C.) to the age of Augustus Caesar (close of the era before Christ) is for the modern student complicated, mysterious, unique. The story starts with the oral traditions of the Hebrew tribes as they moved from their original home (Southern Arabia, most scholars think), wandered through the fertile parts of the land east and west of the Jordan, settled (at least a part of them) in Egypt, and finally established themselves as a nation in what was called Canaan or Palestine. These oral traditions were naturally impregnated with the stories, customs, beliefs, experiences of the peoples among or near whom they lived, chiefly, we may believe, the Babylonians and Assyrians, the Egyptians, and the inhabitants of Canaan whom they dispossessed. And so are found in the 'historical' books of the Old Testament, as these oral traditions were committed to writing (at the time of the Monarchy or, as some scholars think, very much earlier), accounts of the early history of the Hebrews incorporating material which is of the nature of myth, legend, folk-tale and thus lies on the borderland of authentic history. The whole book of Genesis and much of the book of Exodus, for instance, are laden with this kind of material.

The amalgamation of the tribes of the Hebrews into a settled government evidently provided the impetus for the first conscious attempt to write a connected history of the people. The earliest historical documents are thought by scholars to have been composed in Judea and Israel between about 950 B.C. and 650 B.C.; and these are the writings which are known by the letters J and E. A great deal of the absorbing narrative material of the first seven books of the Old Testament goes back to these primitive writings. These writings were combined and supplemented in the seventh century by a version of the laws and the history known now as D. After the Exile (586 B.C.–536 B.C.), the school of Priestly writers, known as P, wrote their own version of the history of their people. And finally all of these versions were incorporated, about 400 B.C., into what is now known as the Pentateuch. The same general process went on with the books of Joshua and Judges, the earliest parts going back to J and E, the material being worked over by D editors, and further additions in the case of Joshua being made by Priestly editors. The books of Samuel and Kings also represent compilations of primitive narratives, later narratives, deuteronomic additions, the books being completed in post-exilic times.

The great series of Prophetic writings begins with Amos (*c.*750 B.C.) and closes probably with 2 Zechariah (Chapters ix–xiv), parts of which may be dated as late as the second century B.C. Most of these books also represent compilations, about which there is great uncertainty as to date, author, and often meaning. The book of Isaiah, for instance, represents the work of more than the great prophet of the eighth century whose name it bears. Most scholars think that three major prophets are represented, in addition to other minor writers, dating from the eighth to the fifth centuries B.C., one chapter (xxxiii) belonging maybe to the second Century. To con-

clude, there are the Writings – the poems, short-stories, books of wisdom, final historical works – which belong to the period after the Exile, from the fifth to the second centuries B.C. And several of these books are of composite authorship.

Not until about 200 B.C., however, were these writings of the Hebrews recognized as a single book of literature, or of religion, it might better be said. The first five books were early regarded as the authoritative sacred writings, and these are the first books which were translated from Hebrew into Greek for the use of Greek-speaking Jews. About the other writings which now form a part of the Hebrew Bible, there was, especially in regard to such books as the Song of Songs, Esther, and Ecclesiastes, considerable difference of usage in the church, and not until about A.D. 100 (Council of Jamnia) was there an official sanction of all of the books.

About the authorship, the date, the place of composition, and even the meaning of these writings, the 'doctors disagree' too often for the satisfaction of a layman who approaches the study of the Old Testament as a work of Hebrew literature which has become a part of world literature and, in a translation of superb literary excellence, what is so often called a masterpiece of English literature. There is complete ignorance of the authors of the Pentateuch, of Joshua and Judges, of the books of Samuel and Kings, of the Psalms, the Song of Songs, Job, the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, of the great figure known as the Second Isaiah, and of various parts of the prophetic books. Strange, is it not, that the names of the men who wrote such independent literary works as Job and Ecclesiastes were not attached to their writings. But authorship among the Hebrews (or Jews) seemed to count for nothing until about the time of Philo of Alexandria (*c.*20 B.C.–*c.*A.D.40). The dates of these writings, even of minute parts, are much argued about and little agreed upon. The historical books represent successive composition,

compilation, and editing extending roughly from about the ninth to the fourth century B.C. The Prophetic writings are in the main subject to fairly definite dating, though about the parts of the respective books, there is, as about the authorship, much uncertainty. Palestine is specific enough, no doubt, as to place of composition. But about the meaning, thousands of tomes have been produced and the work still goes on, and still the lay reader is often left in a bewildered state of mind as he tries to understand and maybe to harmonize the conflicting theories of the specialists.

Grouping of writings for literary study. For the purpose of a literary study of the King James Version of the Bible, the writings of the Old Testament may be grouped as follows:

Historical-Biographical Narrative
- The Pentateuch — Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy
- Joshua and Judges
- The Historical Books — 1 and 2 Samuel, 1 and 2 Kings, 1 and 2 Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah

Short-Stories
- Ruth, Esther, Jonah

Writings of the Prophets

Amos	Zephaniah	Ezekiel	Malachi
Hosea	Nahum	Second Isaiah	Joel
First Isaiah	Habakkuk	Third Isaiah	Obadiah
Micah	Jeremiah	Haggai	2 Zechariah
		1 Zechariah	Daniel

Poetry
- Lyric — The Psalms, The Song of Songs, Lamentations, Poems from the other Books (Song of Deborah, Lament of David, Song of Moses, etc.)
- Didactic — Job and Proverbs

Essay — Ecclesiastes

This somewhat arbitrary classification places Joshua and Judges in a group by themselves instead of attaching one or both to the preceding group, thus forming either the Hexateuch or the Heptateuch. Jonah is placed with Ruth and Esther to form a group of short-stories, which constitute larger literary units than the many short narratives which are scattered through the books which are here listed under the head of Historical-Biographical Narrative. It seems easiest to classify Daniel among the Prophets, though it belongs strictly neither in this group nor in any other of the groups here set up. Job and Proverbs are here classed as didactic poetry. They might have been grouped with Ecclesiastes as Books of Wisdom and Job might be classed as Dramatic Poetry; but it seems better in this literary study to regard Ecclesiastes as a philosophical Essay and the other two books as examples of a second kind of Hebrew poetry.

HISTORICAL–BIOGRAPHICAL NARRATIVE

The literary interest of this section of the Old Testament, which for convenience' sake is here called Historical-Biographical Narrative, lies not in the authentic history which it contains but rather in the world-old stories of the beginning of the world and of man, in the human-interest narratives embedded in the connected account of the rise, the development, and the fall of a nation, and in the fascinating biographies of a series of outstanding individuals. The authentic history dates from the period of the monarchies, the earliest absolute date being furnished by the Assyrian record of the defeat of Shalmeneser at Karkar, 854 B.C.[1] For the historian, this date is of great importance and interest. For the reader of the literature of a people, of much greater interest than this event or than the details of preceding or succeeding events which bear the

1. *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol.1 (1923), p.159.

stamp of history, are the imaginative, legendary, mythical stories, pictures, and scenes by means of which the Hebrew literary genius succeeded in creating enduring literature. A thousand years in the life of a people seem but as a day as we read the stirring realistic narratives which embellish what would otherwise have been a thin, hard substratum of wandering, law, way of living, struggle, success, and defeat of a comparatively insignificant branch of the Semitic people. The story is interesting for its own sake, for the pictures which it presents of great human figures on the pages of the history, and for the light which it reflects on universal human experience.

Pentateuch

The first five books of the Old Testament constitute the great primary document of the Hebrew Bible. The way in which the historical narratives developed may be illustrated best if the attention is confined to these five books, although Joshua is really a continuation of the Pentateuch and resembles it in content and structure, and although Judges and even the Books of Samuel and Kings show evidences in part of similar authorship and similar method of composition.

The composite authorship of the books of the Pentateuch has long been recognized and fairly general agreement exists today among Biblical scholars as to the different writers and different points of view and different ages represented in this series of documents. The period of composition and editing is thought to extend from about 900 B.C. to about 400 B.C. Of the many hands which seem to have been involved in the composition and editing of the Pentateuch in its final form, five writers or schools of writers stand out clearly and to their dates and characteristics attention may now be directed.[1] These con-

1. The following statement represents a summarizing of the generally accepted views of reputable Biblical scholars. See, for instance, the General Analysis in Oesterley and Robinson, *Introduction*, pp.34–38.

tributions to the growth of the Pentateuch are indicated by the capital letters J E H D P. The probable order of composition is the order in which these letters appear, although all of these documents, excepting possibly H, contain material much older than the time of composition. J and E, the primitive documents, are dated variously between 950 B.C. and 650 B.C., J usually being regarded as the earlier. H came into being in the seventh century or possibly during the Exile. D belongs to the seventh century period, some time between 722 and 621. P, the latest of the documents, belongs to the fifth century. The complete Pentateuch was finished between 400 B.C. and 300 B.C. As to the places of composition, there exists considerable uncertainty. J is usually placed in Judah, but it is possible that it or its original was composed in the northern kingdom; the original edition of E certainly belonged to the northern kingdom. H has been assigned to both Babylonia and Jerusalem. The earlier parts of D seem to belong to Judah and the later parts to Babylonia, but some scholars place the book in the northern kingdom. P arose in Babylonia. But the tentative nature of these conclusions must be recognized.

In Genesis and in Exodus are found J, E, and P; in Leviticus, P and H (xvii–xxvi); in Numbers, J E P; and in Deuteronomy D (i–xxxi).

J represents a quasi-anecdotal history of Israel and its ancestors from the Creation to the Conquest, perhaps to the Death of David. This material is found in Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, Joshua, Judges, and perhaps Samuel. The characteristics of J may be summarized as follows: J uses the word 'Jehovah' in Genesis; the theology is primitive in its frank anthropomorphism and advanced in its deliberate and conscious monotheism. Jehovah is a god of simple faith and childlike imagination. 'J' speaks of high places and sacred trees as if they were perfectly legitimate in worship; calls the sacred mountain 'Sinai'; pre-

fers the name 'Israel' for the Patriarch; calls the inhabitants of Palestine 'Canaanites'; delights in etymologies, and in personal and place names. The narratives are graphic, popular, dramatic, told for the interest of the stories — terse, poetic, naive, concrete in details. The story is told swiftly with almost epic breadth. Nowhere is there a didactic aim. The vocabulary is rich and varied.

Specimens of 'J' composition are Genesis ii:4b–iv:26, the story of the Creation; vi:1–8; vii:1–5,7,10,12,16b,17b,22a–23a; viii:2b–3a,6–12,13b,20–22, the Flood story; xi:1–9, the Tower of Babel story; xviii:1–xix:28, Abraham, Sarah, and Lot; Exodus ii:11–23a, Moses in Midian; iv:1–16, Moses and Aaron.[1]

E represents a more systematic history of Israel than J, beginning with the incident of Abraham and Abimelech in Genesis xx and extending certainly to the close of Joshua and perhaps as far as the Elisha narrative in Kings. E is similar to J in many respects. Although like J, it is popular story, it is, however, more formal, it shows evidences of a didactic purpose, and the anthropomorphism is less marked. God does not appear in person to man but reveals himself through dreams or through angels. E uses the word 'Elohim,' 'Jacob' rather than 'Israel,' 'Horeb,' not 'Sinai,' the 'Amorites,' not the 'Canaanites.' Specimens of 'E' composition are Genesis xx: 1–18, the story of Abraham, Sarah, and Abimelech; xxii: 1–19, the sacrifice story; Exodus ii:1–10, Moses and the Ark of Bulrushes; xviii, Moses and Jethro.

H represents a compilation of the law, called the Law of Holiness, which was made by an editor who incorporated it in the Priestly Code. It lays down rules for ceremonial purity and moral life. It appears in Leviticus xvii–xxvi.

1. For the 'J' story in Genesis, see Eric S. Robertson, *The Bible's Prose Epic of Eve and her Sons*, New York, 1916. (The J Text for the first 25 chapters, pp.223–262).

D represents a collection of codes and exhortations and religious comment. The main theme of the authors is the purification of worship by suppressing the high places, by making the Temple the only sanctuary of Jehovah, and by doing away with idols. The spirit of the work is highly idealistic. A specimen of D is Deuteronomy i–xxxi: 1–13.

P represents a constitutional history of Israel, a collection of laws and precedents with the circumstances under which they arose. It begins with the institution of the Sabbath, as sanctioned by the example of God at the Creation, and follows the course of events to the division of Canaan among the tribes by Joshua. It includes a large part of Genesis, the greater part of Exodus, Numbers, and Joshua (xii–xxii, in the main), all of Leviticus.[1] The characteristics of P are its orderly arrangement, formal style, fondness for exact details in numbers and dates, careful genealogies, interest in ritual, repetitions. The language is that of a jurist, not a historian. The theology is definitely monotheistic. Anthropomorphisms are avoided. God is absolute and supra-mundane. Creation is a transcendent act for which a specific term is necessary. Theophanies, angels, dreams have disappeared. Chapters in the lives of the forefathers which offended are passed over in silence. The world of 'P' is an entirely different world from that of J E. Poetry has given place to legislation; theophany, to ritual; religion, to theology. Specimens of 'P' composition are Genesis i: 1–ii: 4a, the Story of Creation ; v, genealogies ; vi: 9–22, vii: 6,8,9,11,13–16a,17a, 18–21,23b–24, viii: 1–2a,3b–5,13a,14–19, the Flood story ; Exodus xxv–xxxi, the building of the Tabernacle, etc. ; xxxv–xl, the Tabernacle, altar, and appointments.

Genesis. The first volume into which the material of the Pentateuch was divided for the sake of convenience tells of the

1. The 'H' chapters being regarded as a part of the larger unit.

Creation of the world and of man, the Fall, Cain and Abel, the Flood, the Tower of Babel, Abraham and Isaac, Jacob and Esau, and the life of Joseph in Egypt. There are three main literary divisions of the book: (1) Chapters i–xi, the beginnings of history, primitive explanations of origins and customs and language, material entirely mythical; (2) Chapters xii–xxxvi, the lives of the Patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Esau, a legendary history of the attempts of the Hebrews, under the direction of Jehovah, to gain a foothold in the land; and (3) Chapters xxxvii–l, the story of Joseph in Egypt, a romantic tale of the success of a banished brother of the sons of Jacob in making a place for himself and of establishing his people in a foreign land and among alien people. Genesis is a great storehouse of fascinating story, universal, tribal, personal — the two stories of Creation, the one explaining the origin of the Sabbath, the other, the institution of marriage; the Fall, with its explanation of why the serpent crawls on the ground, of the mystery of sex, of the sorrow of woman in childbirth, of the necessity of labour, of the mortality of man and the immortality of the gods; Cain and Abel, a story of contrast between occupations, of murder and the punishment thereof; Noah and the Flood, which tells of the giants, the progeny of gods and men, of the wickedness of mankind, of the flood which destroyed all living creatures except the righteous Noah and his family and representatives of fowls and cattle, and of the rainbow, a sign in the heavens that no such destruction would ever be visited again upon the human family; Abram, Sarai and Lot, Hagar and Ishmael, Sodom and Gomorrah, the pillar of salt, Abimelech and Sarai, the birth of Isaac, the great substitution sacrifice story; Isaac and Rebecca, Laban, Jacob and Esau,[1] Leah and Rachel, Jacob's dream, Jacob's wrestling

1. For an interesting discussion of the Jacob-Laban-Esau stories, see H.Gunkel, *What Remains of the Old Testament* (tr. by A.K.Dallas, London, 1928), pp.150–186.

with the angel; and finally, the story of Joseph and his Brethren, a unified narrative of conscious literary art. The Joseph story is rightly regarded as one of the great narratives of world literature. It is remarkably unified. Through choice of material and simplicity, directness, and coherence of the narrative, it creates a singleness of impression on the reader. The stress is on the central figure, the human family relations are touchingly portrayed, striking scenes are introduced, suspense is created, the narrative interest is maintained throughout.

Significant for purposes of comparison with the narratives of Genesis are similar stories which are found among other peoples of the world: stories of creation, of trees of life and death, of marks on manslayers, of great floods, of the building of towers reaching to heaven, of human and substitution sacrifices, of the worship of stones, of ladders reaching to heaven, of the eating of mandrakes, of divining cups, and of attacks on virtue similar to that made on Joseph by Potiphar's wife.[1]

Exodus. The second book of the Pentateuch presents the history of Israel from the death of Joseph to the erection of the Tabernacle by Moses. There are three main sections: (1)

1. See, for instance, S.H.Langdon, *The Mythology of All Races*, vol.V, *Semitic* (Boston, 1931), pp.175–325; Sir J. G. Frazer, *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament* (3 vols., London, 1918), especially vol.1 and vol.2; G.A.Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible* (7th ed., revised, Philadelphia, 1937), pp.279–371 (Babylonian and Sumerian epics of creation, the Adapa myth, flood stories, tale of the Two Brothers, etc.); A.T.Clay, *The Origin of Biblical Traditions* (New Haven, 1923), pp.191–213; Mrs.J.H.Philpot, *The Sacred Tree* (London, 1897), pp.128–143; *The Gilgamesh Epic*, W.E.Leonard translation, New York, 1934; R.E.Hume, *The Thirteen Principal Upanishads*, translated from the Sanskrit, Oxford, 1921; W.M. Flinders Petrie, ed., *Egyptian Tales* (2 vols., London, 1895), vol.2, pp.36ff.; Rachel M. Fleming, *Stories from the Early World* (New York, 1923), pp.15–20; the Greek myth of Ephialtes and Otus (remote parallel to the Tower of Babel story); Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, Book I, ll.1–437 (Loeb Classical Library, vol.I, pp.3–33); *The Poetic Edda* (tr. by H.A. Bellows, two volumes in one, New York, 1923), Vafthruthnismol, stanzas 20–47; Émile Ferrière, *Les Mythes de la Bible*, Paris, 1893.

Chapters i–xi, events leading up to the deliverance of the Israelites from Egypt; (2) Chapters xii–xix: 2, the last plague, the departure, and the journey to Sinai; (3) Chapters xix: 3–xl, Israel at Sinai. Interesting parts of the narrative are the story of the birth and miraculous preservation of Moses, the banishment of Moses, the plagues, the crossing of the Red Sea, the Song of Moses and Miriam, the smiting of the rock for water, the ten commandments, the appearances of the Lord to Moses.

The miraculous birth of Moses connects itself with the many stories of the mysterious origins of heroes in other literatures, the closest of which to the Bible story is probably that of Sargon of Agade.[1]

Leviticus. The third book of the Pentateuch is a code of laws. There are again three parts to this book; (1) Chapters i–xvi, Fundamental Laws of Sacrifice, Purification, and Atonement; (2) Chapters xvii–xxvi, the Law of Holiness; and (3) Chapter xxvii, On the commutation of vows and tithes.

Numbers. The fourth book of the Pentateuch continues the narrative to the 40th year of the Exodus. Embedded in the narrative are many interesting episodes, not to speak of the greatest story of the book, that of Balaam. We read of serpent worship, of trial by ordeal, of the murmurings of the people and the

1. See Barton, op. cit.,p.375. Other well-known mysterious-origin stories are those of King Arthur (see Tennyson, 'The Coming of Arthur' (*Idylls of the King*), ll.358–393, Gilgamesh, Cyrus, King of Persia, Perseus, Telephus, Oedipus, Romulus. The Indian epic Mahabharata has a similar story (The story of Karna – see Chadwick and Chadwick, *The Growth of Literature*, vol.2, p.524). A Japanese myth, in connection with an account of creation, tells of the first child born to the divine pair, Izanagi and Izanami, the parents of gods and men, as being set adrift in an ark of reeds. See *Ency.Bibl.*, col.3206,3207, where reference is made to A.Bauer, *Die Cyros-sage und Verwandtes* and to K.Schubert, *Herodots Darstellung der Cyrussage*. See also W.G.Gruffydd, 'Moses in the Light of Comparative Folklore,' in *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, vol.46 (1928), pp.260–270, who connects the story with Celtic tales of *The King and his prophesied death*; and M.A.Halévy, *Moïse dans l'histoire et dans la légende*, Paris, 1927.

sending of quails and manna, of the account of the spies, of the rebellion of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram and of their being swallowed up in the earth, of the seventy elders who prophesy, of Miriam's leprosy, of the water from the rock. The Balaam story, with its inclusion of the speaking animal of folklore,[1] is most interesting.

Deuteronomy. The last book of the Pentateuch contains a code of laws embedded in the last injunctions and admonitions of Moses, which are presented in three distinct speeches: (1) Chapters i–iv:40 ; (2) Chapters v–xxvi ; and (3) Chapters xxviii–xxxi:6, together with two poems xxxii and xxxiii. Chapter xxvii seems to be disconnected. The dominant idea of the book is Monotheism. Of especial interest, as literature, are the two poems in xxxii and xxxiii, and the story of the closing days and of the death of the great leader, Moses, xxxi–xxxiv.

Joshua and Judges

The books of Joshua and Judges continue the history of Israel from the death of Moses down to the events immediately preceding the establishment of the Monarchy. Joshua in particular is closely associated with the Pentateuch in that it describes the final stages in the history of Hebrew origins, and is now usually restored by scholars to the position which it undoubtedly once held as the conclusion of the early Hebrew history, the six-book collection being known as the Hexateuch. It is also associated with Judges in being placed in the Hebrew canon alongside Samuel and Kings to form the 'Former Prophets.'

Joshua. The book is a record of the conquest of Palestine by Israel, under the leadership of Joshua. The book is named

1. The *Ency.Bibl.* (col.462) refers to Babylonian beast stories, the speaking horse in Homer (*Iliad*, 19,404), and the speaking serpent in Genesis.

after the character whose death is related in the final chapter. It may be divided into three parts: (1) Chapters i–xii, the conquest itself; (2) Chapters xiii–xxii, the apportionment of the land among the tribes; and (3) Chapters xxiii–xxiv, the last words of Joshua to the people. It includes such well-known stories as Rabab and the spies, the fall of Jericho, the sin of Athan, the wily work of the Gibeonites, the sun and moon standing still, the slaughter of the five kings, the defeat of the giants, all comprised in the first twelve chapters, the portions ascribed to J E, worked over by D. The influence of the P school of writers is recognized in Chapters xii-xxiv, along with J E and D.

Judges. This book covers in Chapters i–ii: 10 the ground already covered in the concluding parts of Joshua and then proceeds with the stories of the 'Judges' and with other events preceding the birth and consecration of Samuel. Like the foregoing books, it may be divided into three parts: (1) Chapters i: 1–ii: 10; (2) Chapters ii: 11–xvi: 31, stories of the 'Judges'; and (3) Chapters xvii–xxi, various events belonging to the period. Judges, like Genesis, is a great storehouse of fascinating popular narrative. Here are the stories of Ehud and Eglon, Deborah and Barak, Sisera and Jael (two versions, prose and poetry), Gideon and the Midianites, Jotham and his Parable, Abimelech and the men of Shechem, Jephthah and his Daughter, Samson, the Levite and the Benjamites, and the Children of Benjamin and the Daughters of Shiloh. Towering above the rest are the story of Jephthah and his Daughter, a marvelous combination of elements to form a unified story, and the story of Samson, a masterpiece of legendary narrative. The heroes of these two stories may be thought of as historical personages about whom have gathered legendary tales of a mythical or folk-lore character. How

much of these narratives is historical and how much fictional will never be known. Their literary interest lies in the widespread appearance of their elements in other literatures and among other peoples of the world. Surrounding the kernel of what seems to be historical in the Jephthah story are the following five elements: (1) the rise to power of a banished hero, legitimate or illegitimate; (2) the vow to sacrifice the first; (3) the sacrifice, usually of an only child, human or substitute; (4) the lament on the mountain of the daughter of Jephthah for her virginity; and (5) the weeping of the women of Israel for the death of the daughter. The 'vow to sacrifice the first,' accompanied often by the 'sacrifice' itself, either real or averted, is a universal fictional or legendary motive, the most significant parallel with the Jephthah story being that of Agamemnon and Iphigenia. The 'weeping of the women of Israel' is most interestingly associated with the cult of Tammuz and Ishtar.[1] Attached to what is generally regarded as the reflection of actual history in the Samson story are what seem to be legendary or mythical accretions: the magical power of his hair, the fight with the lion, the foxes and the firebrands, the slaughter with the jawbone of an ass, the Delilah element, the gates of Gaza, the destruction of the pillars accompanied by the death of the hero and of his enemies. The parallels which have been drawn with details of the great Gilgamesh epic are striking.[2]

1. On Tammuz and Ishtar, see, for instance, S.H.Langdon, *The Mythology of all Races. Semitic*, pp.326–351. This story of Jephthah and his daughter is one of the most interesting of Old Testament stories not only for its own sake and for the many parallels with other stories of world literature, but also for the appeal which it has made in the world of art to poets, dramatists, musical composers, painters, and sculptors. From the 16th century down to the immediate present, for instance, about two hundred literary treatments and an equal number of musical treatments of this story have seen the light of day in the countries of Western Europe and America.
2. For such parallels and also for other interesting parallels between the

The Historical Books

The books of Samuel and Kings and of Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah are here classed as historical books because we have now arrived at the period of authentic history. This does not mean, of course, that everything that is related in these books is actual history. Around the great figures of Samuel, Saul, David, and Solomon, and about the prophets Elijah and Elisha, just as about Jephthah and Samson and many of the earlier heroes of Hebrew history, have gathered legends which the writers or compilers of these narratives have used to make more significant and interesting the deeds of these founders of the Hebrew monarchy.

1 *and* 2 *Samuel.* These books, like those of 1 and 2 Kings, constituted originally a single book; they were separated in the Septuagint translation, the death of Saul marking the division between the two books. The prominence of Samuel in the first part of the books and the part that he played in the consecration of Saul and David explain the title. The books represent a compilation from older works and not all of the material is by the same author. They relate the history of Israel from the birth of Samuel to the close of David's public life. The longest continuous section by a single author is Chapters ix–xx of the second part. There are three main sections, to which was attached an appendix, 2 Samuel, Chapters xxi–xxiv : (1) 1 Samuel Chapter i–xv, Eli to Saul, including the rejection of Saul by Samuel; (2) 1 Samuel Chapter xvi–2 Samuel Chapter viii, Saul and David (including the stories of Saul and the Evil Spirit, David and Goliath, David and Jonathan, David's military exploits, Saul and the Witch of Endor, David's lament) ;

Samson story and stories of other world heroes, see A.S.Palmer, *The Samson-Saga* (London, 1913), pp.208–264 and (more compactly) the *Ency.Bibl.*, col.4268–4270.

and (3) 2 Samuel Chapters ix–xx: 22, completed in 1 Kings Chapters i and ii: 11, David's Court Life (including the stories of David and Bathsheba and Nathan and Uriah, Amnon and Tamar, David and Absalom).

1 *and* 2 *Kings*. These books carry on the history of Israel from the nomination of Solomon by David to the release of Jehoiachim from prison in Babylon by Evil-merodach, 562 B.C. There are three main parts: (1) 1 Kings, Chapters i–xi, the Reign of Solomon (including Solomon's judgment between the two harlots, the building of the temple, the visit of the Queen of Sheba, and of Solomon's worship of other gods); (2) 1 Kings Chapter xii–2 Kings Chapter xvii, Israel and Judah, 937 B.C. to 721 B.C. (including Elijah and Elisha narratives, stories of Jehu, Ahab, Jezebel, and Naboth, the death of Elijah, the death of Elisha); and (3) 2 Kings Chapters xviii–xxv, Judah, 721 B.C.–562 B.C.

1 *and* 2 *Chronicles. Ezra and Nehemiah*. These books constitute a second series of histories, duplicating for the most part the earlier historical-biographical documents, Genesis to Kings, materials from other sources being combined with the excerpts from these earlier books. The period covered extends from Adam to the second visit of Nehemiah to Jerusalem, 432 B.C. The aim of the authors is to give a history of Judah with special reference to the institutions connected with the temple, under the monarchy and after the restoration. The history of the Northern kingdom is almost completely ignored.

SHORT-STORIES

Three narratives stand out from the many fragments of tales and connected stories which are scattered throughout the Old Testament as examples of the genre of fictional writing known as the short-story – Ruth, Esther, and Jonah. These three

short-stories, composed so many centuries ago for doubtless certain specific purposes, have come down to us today as complete unified literary products.

Ruth. Whatever may have been the purpose of the author or the significance of the story to the Jews for whom it was written, the Book of Ruth appeals to the modern reader as a beautiful idyll of love and domestic happiness. Goethe called it the 'daintiest of love idylls.' The effectiveness of the artistry suggests a comparison with the Idylls of Theocritus. Like so many other books of the Bible, the material on which the story is based is drawn from old Hebrew traditions by a writer of a later age to instruct his contemporaries. The author is unknown, as is likewise the time of composition; and the purpose of the book is not clear. Scholars cannot agree as to whether it was written shortly before the exile, or during the exile, or after it, though the fifth century is the generally accepted time of composition. It may have been written to throw light on the genealogy of David, or to uphold the sanctity of the practice of marriage with an alien race, or to illustrate the ancient Hebrew custom according to which it was the duty of the nearest male relative to marry the widow of a man who had died without male children.

But all of these possibilities lose their interest in the bright light of its splendid literary value. It may be regarded as the fairest flower of Bible writing. If art here is not conscious, it represents surely the nearest approach to perfection in the pure intuitive processes which make for beauty of form and strength of emotional appeal. The loving devotion of Ruth to Naomi, the sincere affection of Naomi for Ruth, the chivalric honest service of Boaz to Ruth and Naomi — these are the elements which are so combined as to give spiritual unity to this structurally perfect short-story.

The theme is the fortunate outcome of Ruth's decision to return with Naomi. Ruth is the central figure, although she shares the interest with Naomi and Boaz. The character of Ruth is idealized. There is threefold unity of action. The time is brief. The place is single. There are slight dramatic elements in Chapters i and iii. No disturbing factors mar the perfect unity of impression of this story.

Esther. The book of Esther gained its place in the canon only after a long struggle. It was absent from the list of Jewish Old Testament books obtained by Melito, Bishop of Sardis (A.D. 150–175). Even as late as the fourth century, it was not included by Athanasius and Gregory Nazienzen. In the West, it was accepted at the Council of Carthage, A.D. 397. Luther said that the book contained 'many heathenish improprieties and that he wished that it did not exist.' The author is unknown. The knowledge of Persian manners and institutions on the part of the author suggests that he may have lived in Persia. The date of composition is generally placed about 200 B.C. Many scholars think that a mythical background lay back of the story, the echo of ancient strife between the gods of Babylonia and of Elam. According to such a theory, Haman = Humba or Humbau (= Humman), the chief of the Elamite gods; Vashti = the name of an Elamite goddess; Zeresh = the goddess Kiriska; Mordecai = Marduk; Esther = Ishtar.[1] Other scholars attach more importance to the historicity of the story. Dr. Hoschander, for instance, contrary to most scholars, who place the events of the story in the reign of Xerxes I (485–465 B.C.), says that the main event lay in the reign of Artaxerxes II Mnemon (404/3–359/8 B.C.). The name of his queen was Stateira, but she was called Vashti

1. See Jensen, *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, vol.6 (1845), pp.209–211.

(Persian 'beauty'). The Jews were persecuted because they refused to worship the goddess Anahita.[1]

The Book of Esther is, like the Book of Ruth, an illustration of the statement that what in a piece of literature an author or his contemporaries probably cared for most, we moderns care for least. We are little concerned today with the fact that this fine story of Esther, Haman, and Mordecai was written to explain the origin of the Feast of Purim, or that it records a great national triumph of the Jews, or even that it had a mythical or historical background. But we are interested in the story. It is for us a beautiful romantic narrative told with marked dramatic power – a human document, written by a man of fine literary craftsmanship.

Jonah. The book of Jonah is included in the Hebrew Bible as one of the Minor Prophets. It is a story about the prophet Jonah and his mission and was long thought to have been written by the prophet himself. It probably was written long after the time of Jonah, certainly after the Exile and possibly as late as the third century B.C. The story is an allegory having for its hero the prophet Jonah who lived in the time of Rehoboam II (8th century). It teaches the universal providence of God, the God of the Gentile as well as of the Jew.

Many theories have been put forth as to the meaning of the story as a whole and in parts. A mere summary reference must suffice here. Professor Cheyne classes the work along with Tobit and Susanna as a Midrash, an imaginative development of a thought or theme suggested by Scripture. The book has historical value in that it is a record of current thought among the Jews opposed to that identified with the name of Ezra. The story of the great fish is the turning point of the whole narrative. Jehovah 'prepared' the great fish to be an instrument not

1. *The Book of Esther*, Philadelphia, 1923.

only of preservation but also of moral lesson to the disobedient prophet. Parallels with mythological stories have been suggested. The nature-myth of the dragon lies at the root of the apologue of Jonah. The dragon of the subterranean ocean represents the all-absorbing empire of Babylon which swallowed up Israel – not however to destroy it, but to preserve it and to give it room for repentance. The story of the wonderful plant is the product of the fancy of an individual. Folklore is present in the story of the voyage. Parallels are suggested with the Buddhist story of Mittavindaka, the son of a merchant of Benares, who is put out of a ship in which he has embarked as the spoiler of its luck, and with the Roman folk-tale of the Pot of Rue.[1]

THE WRITINGS OF THE PROPHETS

General statement. The writings of the Prophets of Israel, arranged in a tentatively chronological order, are as follows:

Eighth-Century – Amos, Hosea, First Isaiah, Micah

Seventh-Century – Zephaniah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Jeremiah

Sixth-Century – Ezekiel, Second Isaiah, Haggai, and 1 Zechariah

Fifth-Century and Later – Third Isaiah, Malachi, Joel, Obadiah, 2 Zechariah, and Daniel

The foregoing summary represents a consensus of scholars in a province of Biblical study in which the most learned are often at variance in opinion as to meaning, authorship, and date. The greatest difference of opinion concerns the greatest book of all – Isaiah. The figure of the eighth-century prophet stands out with reasonable clearness in the section of the book extending from Chapters i–xxxix. About the author or au-

1. For an amplification of this brief summary, see *Ency. Bibl.*, col.2565–2571.

thors of the part of the book extending from Chapter xl to Chapter lxvi, scholars still disagree, almost violently, some holding to a Second Isaiah only, others to a Second Isaiah and a Third Isaiah.

No other division of Hebrew literature than this of the writings of the Prophets presents such difficulties for the lay reader, if not for the specialist. What Fowler says about the Book of Amos, what Moulton says about the last twenty-seven chapters of Isaiah, and what Oesterley and Robinson say about the books as a whole, illustrate the confusion and uncertainty which even the exactest scholarly study of this whole great body of literature has not been able to clarify or eradicate: 'A mere reading [of the Book of Amos] by one who is not familiar with the historical situation is about as confusing as for a citizen of South Africa to read the report of a political speech or reform sermon delivered in America.'[1] 'No narrative [in the second part of Isaiah] is carried on from beginning to end . . . though reasoning abounds, there is no sign of a logical plan. . . . The full force of this part of the Bible is brought out by considering it as a Rhapsody, the prophetic form made by the fusion of all literary forms in one.'[2] 'It is practically impossible to read any of the other books [than, perhaps, Haggai and part of Isaiah] as a continuous whole. We are repeatedly confronted with sudden changes of subject, with marked differences in style, and it is difficult in some cases to find anything like a serious logical arrangement. We have, rather, the impression that each is a compilation, whose separate parts have been put together either haphazard or on principles which are not always obvious to the modern reader.'[3]

These prophetic books deal with current history and con-

1. Fowler, *A History of the Literature of Ancient Israel*, p.107.
2. Moulton, *The Literary Study of the Bible*, p.435.
3. Oesterley and Robinson, *Introduction*, pp.223–224.

ditions. The material is on the whole intensely local, national, racial. Unlike other great books of the Old Testament, such as Job, Ecclesiastes, Proverbs, Psalms, these writings are not universal in their ideas or in their application to general human experience. But they constitute the most striking and significant branch of Hebrew literature and, if the scope is extended, a unique phenomenon in world literature. These prophetic utterances extend roughly over the period in Hebrew history from the impending fall of the Northern kingdom (722 B.C.) past the rebuilding of the temple in Jerusalem in the years following the Exile (520–516 B.C.), down to probably the middle of the fourth century B.C.; and the remains of these writings constitute one of the great contributions to the history of world religions. They are thus of surpassing interest to the student of the history of religion as well as to the student of Hebrew history. Where these prophets succeeded, as they did so often, in expressing their feelings and ideas in language of power and beauty, they present to the student or reader of literature works of enduring value and of lasting aesthetic appeal.

Ancestry of the prophets of Israel. Many references in the Old Testament indicate that the so-called 'writing prophets' represent the culmination or maybe, better, the professionalizing of prophetic activity among the early Hebrews. In Numbers xii:5–6, we read that the Lord came down in the pillar of the cloud and spoke thus to Aaron and Miriam: If there be a prophet among you, I the Lord will make myself known to him in a vision. (See also Exodus iv:10–16 and vii:1,2.) The Lord 'took of the spirit that was upon him [Moses] and gave it unto the seventy elders: and it came to pass, that, when the spirit rested upon them, they prophesied' (Numbers xi:25). The distinction between false prophets

and true prophets is recognized in Deuteronomy xiii: 1–5, and also in xviii: 15 and 20, where we read: 'The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a Prophet from the midst of thee. . . . But the prophet, which shall presume to speak a word in my name, which I have not commanded him to speak, or that shall speak in the name of other gods, even that prophet shall die.' The oracular utterances of Balaam (Numbers xxiii–xxiv) are inspired by the Lord. Deborah the prophetess appears in Judges iv–v. In 1 Samuel x: 10,11, Saul meets a company of prophets and the spirit of God came upon him, and he prophesied among them; and the people said one to another, 'Is Saul also among the prophets?' (See also xix: 20–24.) Nathan the prophet speaks to David in the name of the Lord (2 Samuel xii). Samuel (1 Samuel ix), the unnamed prophet of 1 Samuel ii: 27–36 and of 1 Kings xx: 13,22, Shemaiah (1 Kings xii: 22–24), the prophet Gad (1 Samuel xxii: 5 and 2 Samuel xxiv: 11ff.), Ahijah (1 Kings xiv: 2), Elijah and Elisha (1 Kings xvii–2 Kings xiii), Jehu, the son of Hanani (1 Kings xvi: 7) — all speak in the name of the Lord and thus illustrate one kind or another of prophetic activity.

These men who speak for God are spoken of as 'prophets' or 'seers' (Hebrew *nābī*, *plural nᵉbi'im* and *ro'eh* or *hozeh*), and seem to represent two classes, the ecstatics, who were subject to seizures, due to possession by the spirit of the Deity, and the seers, who had the gift of second sight. Although these two classes were originally distinct in early Hebrew life, the two terms eventually became synonymous. Samuel was a seer (cf. 1 Samuel ix: 9); Saul was an ecstatic. The ecstatics were the direct ancestors of the writing prophets of the Old Testament. The ecstatics went about in bands. Saul met a company of them (Nᵉbi'im) coming down a hill at Gibeah. A definite stage in the evolution of the Prophet was reached when one of the individuals in the group separated himself and delivered a message

out of harmony with the rest. The first person of whom this independence is recorded is Micaiah (1 Kings xxii: 5–28). So arose the individual prophet of the Old Testament.

The prophets of the Old Testament represent several classes: (1) members of an established class by the side of the priests; (2) men attached to the court; (3) wandering bodies; and (4) isolated individuals. These men exercised many functions: they foretold events, they spoke for Jehovah, they presented a philosophy of religion, they preached morality, and they predicted the end of the world and the new kingdom of Jehovah.

The utterances of the prophets were called oracles. There is no way of deciding when these oral prophetic utterances were first written down. The first prophet to have collected or recalled his words to any extent seems to have been Jeremiah. Many oracles bore no special name – floating oracles. There grew up collections to which the name of a well-known prophet was attached. Various oracular utterances which existed separately were joined to the prophecies which were thought to belong to a certain individual, and thus were formed the complete books which within themselves present today so great a variety and complexity of material. This material is of three main kinds: (1) Oracular poetry (Isaiah lx); (2) Biographical prose (Jeremiah xxxvi); and (3) Autobiographical prose (Ezekiel viii).[1]

1. For discussions of the origin of the 'writing prophets' and of their characteristics in general, see Chadwick and Chadwick, *The Growth of Literature*, II:717–732,771–777; T.H.Robinson, *Prophecy and the Prophets*, pp.28–59; Oesterley and Robinson, *Introduction to the Books of the Old Testament*, pp.221–232; and S.A.Cook, *The Old Testament*, pp.167–191. For additional treatments of the subject of prophetic literature, see especially S.A.Cook, 'The Prophets of Israel' in *Cambridge Ancient History*, III (1929), pp.458–500; S.R.Driver, *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* (New York, 1913), pp.204–358 [still very valuable]; *Ency.Bibl.*, col.3853–3901; H.T.Fowler, *A History of the Literature of Ancient Israel* (New York, 1927), pp.105–129,139–174,190–202,233–250,

The Eighth-Century Prophets

Amos. Amos is the first of the 'writing prophets,' prophets who wrote down their messages or whose words were recorded as separate books by their immediate followers. His writings are extant and of undisputed date, *c.*750 B.C., the latter part of the reign of Jeroboam. As we learn from the book, he was a shepherd of Tekoa, about 12 miles from Jerusalem, not a prophet by profession or education. Amos preaches against the luxury of the rich, the oppression of the poor, the rottenness of society, and for the righteousness of the true religion of Jehovah. He tells of the approaching fall of the Northern kingdom and of the restoration of Israel in the days to come. His message in the main is a gloomy one. There are three main parts to the book: (1) Chapters i and ii, Introductory; (2) Chapters iii–vi, three discourses, relating to the doom of Judah and of Israel; (3) Chapters vii–ix, a series of visions, with an interlude giving the 'call' to Amos (vii:14,15)[1] and an epilogue prophesying the restoration of Israel (ix:7–15). There occur here the three types of prophecy which are found in the writings of the prophets: A, Oracular poetry, Chapters i and ii, and iii–vi; B, Biographical prose, Chapter vii:10–17; and C, Autobiographical prose and poetry, Chapters vii–ix. The dominant idea of Amos is the universality of Jehovah, the God of righteousness. He has been called the 'prophet of righteousness.'

The characteristics of the style of Amos, as they have been

287–292; Edith Hamilton, *The Prophets of Israel*, New York, 1936; D.B. Macdonald, *The Hebrew Literary Genius* (Princeton, 1933), pp.64–92; T.J.Meek, *Hebrew Origins* (New York, 1936), pp.145–175; C.Noyes, *The Genius of Israel* (Boston, 1924), pp.338–384.

1. This is one of the four calls that are declared by the prophets, the other three being the call to Isaiah (Isaiah vi), the call to Ezekiel (Ezekiel i–iv, especially i:1–3,26–28, ii,iii:1–14,22–27, and iv:1–8), and the call to Jeremiah (Jeremiah i:4–19).

detected by Hebrew scholars,[1] are purity of language, the style being designated as classical and refined, ease and skill of expression, flowing sentences, regularity of structure, balanced clauses, effective contrasts, well-chosen images.

Hosea. Hosea was an eighth-century prophet of the Northern kingdom. Like Amos, he prophesied its decline, but unlike Amos, he emphasized the love and compassion of Jehovah and the personal relationship between Jehovah and Israel. The book may be divided into two parts: (1) Chapters i–iii, where in the story of his marriage with Gomer we seem to have a symbolical representation of the unfaithfulness of Israel to Jehovah, of the impending punishment, and of the love of Jehovah for his people; and (2) Chapters iv–xiv, a series of discourses relating to the wickedness of Israel, to the forgiveness of Jehovah, and to the restoration of Israel. Chapter i is an illustration of biographical prose and Chapter iii of autobiographical prose. As to whether or no Hosea is using a bit of personal experience in his desire to impress upon the people the love of Jehovah for them even though they are wicked, scholars are uncertain. In contrast with Amos, rugged, austere, powerful, Hosea is gentle, tender, warm-hearted. He uses short, abrupt sentences, and employs suggestive figures of speech. There is a combination of force and pathos in his prophetic utterances. He has been called the 'prophet of love.'

First Isaiah. The third of these great eighth-century prophets and generally admitted to be the greatest of all the prophets is the man whose prophecies are preserved in the section of the

1. The characteristics of style that are found in the Hebrew of Amos, as of the other prophets, are usually apparent in the marvellous King James Version, even to laymen, as they attempt to apply for themselves the critical observations of scholars who are able to examine the text in the original language.

book of Isaiah extending from Chapters i–xxxix. Several sections are with entire or reasonable certainty to be excluded from the list of authentic writings by the great prophet: Chapters xxxvi–xxxix, the historical appendix, which resemble the historical material of 2 Kings xviii: 13–xx: 20; Chapters xxxiii–xxxv, which seem to be post-exilic; Chapters xxiv–xxvii, likewise post-exilic; and Chapters xi: 10–xiv: 23, also dating after the time of Isaiah. And even about the rest of the material, there is considerable doubt as to date and authorship. The difficulty of finding the prophet Isaiah himself, even for the best of the Biblical scholars, is very great. The sections Chapters i–xi: 9, Chapters xiv: 24–xxiii: 18, and Chapters xxviii–xxxii, which in the main are thought to go back to the eighth century and probably to belong to Isaiah, contain parts about which there is great argument.[1] The prophet Isaiah, like the prophet Jeremiah, left behind him few compositions that were preserved under his name and known as his. The whole Book of Isaiah represents compilations of all kinds of material, the collection being made long after the time of the great prophet, and put in its final form as late as the third century B.C. The collections which are present in the first part of the Book are (1) Chapter i, (2) Chapters ii–v, (3) Chapters vi–xii, (4) Chapters xiii–xxiii, (5) Chapters xxiv–xxvii, (6) Chapters xxviii–xxxv, and (7) Chapters xxxvi–xxxix. Here are prophecies relating to the kingdoms of Judah and Israel, prophecies dealing with foreign nations, the picture of a great world judgment, prophetic utterances dealing with the relation of Judah to Assyria, a picture of the contrasted futures of Edom and Israel, and finally a historical appendix. Little wonder is it that Isaiah the individual has almost disappeared in the jumble

1. For an example of the detailed analysis to which the first thirty-nine chapters of the Book of Isaiah have been subjected, the reader is referred to Oesterley and Robinson, *Introduction*, pp.238–259.

of diverse material of greatly varying dates of composition and reference, the work of prophets with divergent points of view.

Yet it is possible to obtain a fairly clear picture of the great prophet, an understanding of his main message to his age, and an impression of the superb style of his oracular utterances. He was a man of the city, his home being in Jerusalem, who evidently moved in the intellectual circle of the people. His call came in the year 740 B.C. and he prophesied in the reigns of Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah. He shows a wide range of interests. He saw Israel as associated with the other great world-powers of Egypt and Assyria. Back of the development of these nations was the will of Jehovah. He preached faith in Jehovah as the ruler of the world. The essential element of Jehovah's character was his holiness. Jehovah was 'holy' in that he was set apart from the world of secular things. Isaiah denounced the evils of his time and preached the return of Judah to her God. The reason for her existence was to carry out God's purpose in the world. He has been called the 'prophet of holiness.'

The characteristics of his style, which has been so highly lauded by all students of his writings, are grandeur and beauty of conception, wealth of imagination, stately rhythm, choice diction, finely rounded periods, compact and forcible sentences. Fowler[1] uses Chapters ii–v as a fine example of Isaiah's power, and quotes and comments on two effective passages not by Isaiah – xiii: 2–22 and xiv: 4–23. Oesterley and Robinson[2] refer especially to Chapter vi, where we have the account of his call, to his short lyrics, to the vigour of the narrative in x: 28–32, to pathos in i: 4–9, to his passionate denunciation of injustice and oppression in v: 8–10, to his scorn of heartless and fashionable women in iii: 16–26, to the tender appeal in

1. Op.cit., pp.143–148,262–266.
2. Op.cit., p.260.

i: 18–21 ; and find in these illustrations all the features of great poetry – sincerity, honesty, depth of feeling, beauty of expression. Driver [1] presents a very fine analysis of his poetical genius and his literary style, giving illustrations of picturesque and impressive imagery, finely rounded periods, tone-painting, assonance, apt figures and illustrations, similes, vivid pictures, etc.

Micah. There are three sections in the book which goes under the name of the Prophet: (1) Chapters i–iii, a collection of oracles in which the sins of Samaria and Judah are denounced, the prophecies of Micah proper; (2) Chapters iv–v, an eschatological section, in which an era of universal peace is predicted ; and (3) Chapters vi–viii, Jehovah's controversy with Israel and victory and universal dominion of Zion, the last two sections probably dating from the fifth century. Interesting it is, that the great definition of true religion appears in Chapter vi: 1–8, and can therefore hardly be attributed to Micah himself.

Micah was a younger contemporary of Isaiah's, a 'man of the people,' who condemned the leaders of the people, spoke for the poor, and was particularly concerned with the sorrows and injustice experienced by the peasant farmer. He was like Amos, a prophet of doom.

The Seventh-Century Prophets

Four canonical prophets have been assigned to the last quarter of the seventh century – Zephaniah, Nahum, Habakkuk, and Jeremiah. The period covered by their prophetic writings extends from 626, when Jeremiah began his prophetic activity, down to the fall of Jerusalem (586) or shortly thereafter. At the beginning of the period, Assyria was near the end of its long career of domination. Babylon, under the Chaldean Dy-

1. Op.cit., pp.227–229.

nasty, destroyed Nineveh in 607. Egypt, under Necho, made a last attempt at world domination and was overthrown at Carchemish in 605. During these years the Scythians were making inroads into Western Asia and their presence in Palestine gave Jeremiah an impulse towards prophesying. In 597, the Babylonian army was in Judah. King Jehoiachim surrendered to the Chaldeans and was carried off to Babylon with many other Jews. In 586, Jerusalem was destroyed and the national Jewish government was at an end. The writings of these four prophets are closely connected with the foregoing significant events.

Zephaniah. This book is a single collection of short oracles, dating from shortly before the great reformation of Josiah (621 B.C.), and put in final form probably in the fifth century. In the first part, the author announces the destruction that is to fall on Judah and Jerusalem (Chapter i); in the second, he urges the other nations (Philistines, Moab, Ammon, Ethiopians, and Assyrians) to repent and thus escape the impending doom (Chapters ii–iii:7); and in the third and last section, he calls on the faithful in Jerusalem to rejoice. The last seven verses are a post-exilic lyric in the style of the Second Isaiah.

Nahum. The prophecy of this little book deals entirely with the impending fall of Nineveh: Jehovah appears in judgment against the enemies of his people; the city of Nineveh will be attacked and destroyed. This is a unified oracular utterance, the first chapter and the first verses of the second chapter leading logically to the more specific account of the doom that is to fall on Nineveh. The book rivals in effectiveness of expression the work of the great prophet Isaiah. The characteristics are: picturesque and vivid descriptions (cf. ii:3–5,10, and iii:

2,3), effective striking imagery (cf. ii: 11ff. and iii: 17,18), compact expression of thought, regular parallelism, dignity, and force.

Habakkuk. Of the two parts of this book, the former is a collection of oracles in which, in the form of a dialogue between the author and Jehovah, is presented the theme of the vindication of Judah and the punishment of its oppressor (Chapters i and ii) ; and the latter is a lyric ode, expressing the idea of faith and rejoicing in the Lord, whose greatness is manifest in His works (Chapter iii). There are two outstanding elements in this book: (1) the assertion of the doctrine expressed by Job that the righteous shall live by his faith ; and (2) the very fine psalm at the close, which according to Driver equals in sublimity of poetic conception and splendour of diction the Song of Moses (Exodus xv) and the Song of Deborah (Judges v).

Jeremiah. The greatest of the seventh-century prophets is Jeremiah. The book which takes its title from the central figure might well be entitled 'The Life, Times, and Work of Jeremiah.' It was not written by the prophet himself, but was the work of a well-informed contemporary, probably Baruch, his amanuensis. The contents of this most complex body of material may be indicated as follows :

1 Chapters i–vi Vision of the call and first discourses.
2 Chapters vii–x Second group of discourses.
3 Chapters xi–xx Miscellaneous material, originally composed for the most part in King Jehoiakim's reign — the prophet's main experiences, warnings and denunciations, the drought a token of Jehovah's anger, lessons from the potter.
4 Chapters xxi–xxix Passages of various dates — oracles dealing with various kings contemporary with Jeremiah, other

oracles, messianic prophecy, oracles dealing with foreign nations.

5 Chapters xxx–xxxiii Prophecies dealing with the restoration of Israel.

6 Chapters xxxiv–xxxv Utterances on specified occasions.

7 Chapters xxxvi–xlv History of Jeremiah.

8 Chapters xlvi–li Prophecies concerning foreign nations.

9 Chapter lii Historical account of the capture of Jerusalem and of the Exile.

Illustrations of the three kinds of prophetic material which appear in this book are: [1]

1	Oracular poetry	i: 15–iii: 5
		iii: 19–vi: 30
		xlvi–li: 58
2	Prose in the third person	xxxvi–xlv
		li: 59–64
		lii
3	Prose in the first person	i: 1–14
		xxiv
		xxv: 1–29
		xxvii–xxviii: 9
		xxxii
		xxxv

The separation of the personal work of Jeremiah from the vast collection of material in the book is difficult. About some parts, there is no question, e.g., the narratives describing events in the life of the prophet. They make no claim to have been written by Jeremiah. Much of the oracular material is much later than the age of Jeremiah. The following grouping by Bewer of Jeremiah's own work according to chronology is the most satisfactory statement that the present writer has discovered.[2]

1. See Oesterley and Robinson, *An Introduction*, p.291.
2. *The Literature of the Old Testament*, p.167.

During the reign of Josiah — i–vi, vii: 21–xii: 6 (except x: 1–16), and xxxi: 2–6, 15–21
During the reign of Jehoiakim — vii: 1–20, xii: 7–xiii: 17, xiii: 20–xx (except xvii: 19–27), xxii: 1–23, xxv: 1–24 (worked over)
During the reign of Jehoiachin — xiii: 18f., xxii: 24–30
During the reign of Zedekiah — xxi, xxiii: 1f., 9ff., xxiv
After the fall of Jerusalem — xxxi: 31–34

The main interest of Jeremiah lies in his personality. He is better known to us as a man than is any other of the prophets. He was evidently of a susceptible deeply emotional nature, lovable and courageous. His life was tragic and pathetic. He had a great love for his country. He has been called the 'first great pacifist.'

His writings are those of a poet. Some one has said that if he had not been a prophet, he would have been a great lyricist.

The Sixth-Century Prophets

Four books of prophecy — Ezekiel, 2 Isaiah (xl–lv), Haggai, and 1 Zechariah (i–viii) — may be assigned to this general period, Ezekiel and 2 Isaiah belonging to the Exile and Haggai and 1 Zechariah being post-exilic works dating from 520 to 518 B.C. Differences of opinion as to the times of composition or final redaction of Ezekiel and 2 Isaiah and of some of the books which in the next division of this discussion of the Prophets will be assigned to the fifth century and later must again be recognized. A Babylonian redactor for Ezekiel, later than the times of the prophet, has been postulated; 2 Isaiah has been joined with 3 Isaiah (lvi–lxvi) to form a unified work dating from the fifth century; the material of the books of Obadiah and Joel has been thought by different scholars to fit the conditions of life from the fifth to the second century B.C.

Ezekiel. The contents of the book may be divided into four parts: (1) Chapters i–xxiv, the sin of Judah and its pun-

ishment, the approaching fall of Jerusalem; (2) Chapters xxv–xxxii, oracles against foreign nations; (3) Chapters xxxiii-xxxix, prophecies of restoration; and (4) Chapters xl–xlviii, the reconstitution of restored Israel – the temple, the ordinances, the division for the tribes. Against the theory of single authorship of Ezekiel for the entire book, held for so long by most scholars, should be mentioned the drastic theory of Torrey[1] that the book is pseudepigraphic, written about 230 B.C. by one who gave it the appearance of having been penned by a prophet during the reign of Manasseh (649–641 B.C.); and the much more plausible theory of Herntrich, that to Ezekiel, prophet in Jerusalem 593–586, belongs the bulk of the prophetic material in Chapters i–xxxix, these parts being worked over by an exilic redactor who clothed them in Babylonian dress, and who was also responsible for Chapter i, for the framework of the vision of the call in Chapters ii and iii, and for other parts, especially Chapters xl–xlviii.[2]

Back of the book and responsible certainly for most of it, stands, however, the great exilic priest-prophet, theologian, the father of Judaism, Ezekiel. The greater part of the book is in prose. Characteristic features of the material and the style are the visions, the imagery, the ecstatic utterance, the use of symbol, allegory, and parable, the use of peculiar words and stereotyped phrases. Illustrative of the writings of Ezekiel may with reasonable assurance be cited: Chapters xxvi–xxxii, xxxiv–xxxvii; the poems embedded in the prose – xv: 1–5, xvi: 3–14, xvii: 3–10, xix: 2–9, 10–14, xxi: 14–22.[3]

1. *Pseudo-Ezekiel and the Original Prophecy* (New Haven, 1930), especially pp.24,34,44,93,97,99,102.
2. For comment on these theories, and on those of others, for an analysis of the contents, and for conclusions as to authorship, see G.A.Cooke, *The Book of Ezekiel* (2 vols., New York, 1937), vol.1, pp.xvii–xxxi; and Oesterley and Robinson, op. cit., pp.320–325.
3. See Cooke, op.cit., pp.xxiv,xxv.

Second Isaiah [and 3 Isaiah]. Out of the confusion of critical theory about the authorship of the book of Isaiah, one fact seems indisputable — that a new book of prophecy begins with Chapter xl and extends to Chapter lv and, in the opinion of many scholars, to Chapter lxvi. The world of religious thought and the literary style are different from those of the First Isaiah (Chapters i–xxxix). The common theme of the whole book, xl–lxvi, is Israel's Restoration from Exile in Babylon. There are three main parts: (1) Chapters xl–xlviii, dealing with the period preceding the fall of Babylon and proclaiming the certainty of the coming release; (2) Chapters xlix–lv, dealing with the period immediately following the fall, and contemplating the return to Jerusalem and the future in store for Israel; and (3) Chapters lvi–lxvi, a collection of prophecies stressing, as in the preceding parts, the omnipotence, universality, and unity of God and emphasizing (a) especially in the earlier chapters the importance of the Law and of the Temple and its sacrificial worship, and (b) the necessity for atonement of sin, and (c) the triumph of the Jews and their God.

The divergent opinions of scholars as to this section of Isaiah (Chapters xl–lxvi) may be merely hinted at here. Some critics hold that the whole section is a continuous prophecy, the author a prophet writing towards the end of the Babylonian captivity; Torrey accepts the theory of unity of this material but extends the scope to include Chapters xxxiv and xxxv and dates the work near the end of the fifth century B.C.; others hold that there is as great a difference in thought and style between Chapters xl–lv and lvi–lxvi as there is between the work of the great Isaiah and that of the author of the part beginning with Chapter xl, and that therefore there must be recognized two great prophets or prophetic collections, the Second Isaiah and the Third Isaiah; others vary this opinion slightly in declaring that the prophet of Chapters

lvi–lxvi is of kindred spirit with the prophet of Chapters xl–lv, or, maybe, the very same. A group of prophecies, consisting of Chapters lix, lxiii: 7–lxiv: 12, lxvi: 5, 17–24, is thought by some scholars to belong to a prophet of the latter half of the fourth century B.C. The change of time, as well as of poetic fervour, is recognized as one moves from Chapters xl–xlviii to Chapters xlix–lv. The servant passages which begin with Chapter xlii: 1–4 [5–9] and continue with Chapters xlix: 1–6 [7–13], l: 4–9 [10, 11], lii: 13–liii: 12, [cf. also lxi: 1–3] seem to comprise an independent poem the parts of which were worked into the text by a later hand.

The intricacies and complexities of analysis into which the 'Isaiah' problem has led biblical scholars present a field into which the layman either cannot or need not enter. If he should, he would probably emerge, like poor Omar, with little if any of his uncertainty and ignorance lifted. But the great poetry of Chapters xl–lxvi is an open book for layman and scholar alike. Chapters xl–xlviii may be regarded as a dramatic lyric, with so many fine passages that to enumerate them would be to include almost the whole; Chapters li: 9–lii: 12 and Chapter lv stand out in the section from xlix–lv; and from the last section, one may extract from so much richness, possibly, Chapters lx and lxiii.

As characteristic in general of the character and the style of this prophet (or of these prophets), one may venture with the aid of 'those who know,' to refer to the deep feeling, kindliness, reserve, tolerance, richness of imagination, the prevailing lyric strain, the warm impassioned rhetoric, the flowing style, the imagery from the sphere of human emotion, the dramatic quality, the logical structure.

Haggai. The four utterances of Haggai are: Chapter i, an appeal to the people to rebuild the temple; ii: 1–9, the glories

of the new house ; ii: 10–19, uncleanness till the temple is built ; ii: 20–23, special favour and protection for Zerubbabel. The date is 520 B.C.

First Zechariah. Of the two parts into which the Book of Zechariah may be divided, the former, Chapters i–viii, is made up of a remarkable series of utterances, largely visions, from the man whose name the book bears : (1) Chapter i: 7–17, Jehovah himself, standing in a grove of myrtles and receiving reports from all parts of the earth (with the vision of the horses, compare also vi: 1–8 and Revelation vi: 1–8) ; (2) Chapter i: 18–21, four horns, destroyed violently by four smiths ; (3) Chapter ii: 1–5, surveyor who marks out the dimensions of the city ; (4) Chapter iii: 1–10, a celestial trial scene, with the High Priest as the defendant, charged by Satan, or public prosecutor of the Court of Jehovah, and acquitted by the Judge himself (cf. Job, the *Prologue*) ; (5) Chapter iv: 1–7, a golden lampstand ; (6) Chapter v: 1–4, a winged scroll ; (7) Chapter v: 5–11, the son of Judah embodied in a woman who is placed in a large vessel, which is carried off by two winged women ; (8) Chapter vi: 1–8, four chariots, each drawn by horses of a different colour ; and (9) Chapter vi: 9–13, a golden diadem placed on the head of Joshua the High Priest.

Prophets of the Fifth Century and Later

Third Isaiah. See Second Isaiah, pp.82,83.

Malachi. This is an anonymous book of prophetic utterances, dating after the rebuilding of the temple (516 B.C.) and before 444 B.C. The prophet denounces insincere worship, regards divorce with abhorrence, announces the approach of the day of judgment, emphasizes the necessity of tithes and offerings, and prophesies prosperity for the faithful.

Joel. Nothing is known about the author of the book or about the date. It might be very early, long before the exile, or very late, after the exile. The apocalyptic parts may belong to the beginning of the second century B.C. The author exhorts to repentance, speaks of fertile seasons to be restored to penitent Israel, pictures the nations in the valley of Jehoshaphat to be judged, and declares that Judah and Jerusalem will be established in permanent security. Fine imagery and choice language characterize this little prophetic book.

Obadiah. This collection of oracles deals entirely with Edom, which is to be destroyed by Israel in the day of Jehovah. Both author and date are unknown. The prophecies may belong either to exilic or post-exilic times.

Second Zechariah. This part of the Book of Zechariah (Chapters ix–xiv) is post-exilic and was not written by the prophet Zechariah. It consists of two independent pieces, ix–xi and xii–xiv. The author refers to the protection of the temple when Phœnicia and Philistia are devastated, to peace and prosperity brought to Israel, to the reconciliation of the people with God, and to two sieges of Jerusalem. These prophetic utterances may date as late as the third or the second century B.C.

Daniel. Two reasons may serve to justify the arbitrary placing of the Book of Daniel at the close of the list of Hebrew prophets. Daniel is called a prophet in Matthew xxiv: 15. In the Greek Bible, as in the King James Version, the Book of Daniel is placed between the major and the minor prophets. In the Hebrew Bible, it is placed with the 'Writings.' It is not history and it is not prophecy. It is in part story and in part vision

literature or apocalyptic prophecy. There are two parts to the book: (1) Chapters i–vi, narrative, relating stories about Daniel at the courts of Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar and Darius—the wise children of Israel, Daniel, Shadrach, Meschach, and Abednego, interpretation of dreams by Daniel, the refusal of these men to worship the golden image, Nebuchadnezzar's praise of the King of Heaven, the interpretation of the writing on the wall of the house of Belshazzar, Daniel in the Den of Lions, Darius' praise of the God of Daniel; and (2) Chapters vii–xii, apocalyptic, a series of visions in the first person. The book may have been written as late as 168–165 B.C.

POETRY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

General Statement

The poetry of the Old Testament constitutes the most significant contribution of the Hebrew people to the literature of the world. Both the range and the volume are very large. Recognized clearly as poetry are

1 The fragments of song and story and the complete short poems which are imbedded in the narrative writings
2 The Psalms
3 The Song of Songs
4 Lamentations
5 The Book of Job
6 The Book of Proverbs
7 The Writings of the Prophets—in part
8 Parts of the Book of Ecclesiastes

The placing of all these writings in the category of poetry is, however, not so easy as the foregoing enumeration might indicate. Recognition by scholars of the poetic element in the Bible arose in the early centuries of the Christian era. The eighteenth century made a very important contribution to our

knowledge of the characteristics of Hebrew poetry when Bishop Lowth delivered his lectures on the sacred poetry of the Hebrews (1753); it has remained for the twentieth century to bring the task of elucidation closer to a successful issue, as it has attempted to print the text in the form of modern verse and prose and to draw firmer distinctions as to content and form. Whether or no the text of the King James Version, which has for so long maintained its traditional form, will by general assent find at last a standard prose-verse form, it is impossible in the light of still widely varying opinion to say. As Professor Duhm says (*Ency.Bibl.*, col.3794): 'We are consequently often in doubt where prose passes into metrical poetry, and one commentator will find clearly marked verses and strophes, where another will find plain prose, or at best a poetical style. Almost the whole of the prophetic literature is involved at the present time in this ambiguity.' And Professor Gray asks the question (*Forms of Hebrew Poetry*, p.46): 'Had then the ancient Hebrew three forms of composition – metrical poetry and plain prose, and an intermediate type . . . unmetrical poetry or parallelistic prose?'[1] But enough at least is known – or should one say 'felt'? – about the subject to enable us to recognize in these writings, in the main, the qualities of poetry as distinguished from the qualities of prose and thus better to understand and evaluate the literature as it has reached us after so many centuries.

1. As indicative of the wide range of opinion as to poetic and prose parts of the Old Testament, are the respective arrangements by Professor Moulton in his *Modern Reader's Bible* and by the editors of the *American Translation* of the books of Isaiah and Jeremiah, Professor Moulton printing a great deal of Isaiah as prose, even in the section from Chapter xl to Chapter lxvi, and most of Jeremiah as prose, whereas the *American Translation* prints as verse almost the entire book of Isaiah and the main part of Jeremiah.

As to the fundamental differences between the poetry and the prose, the reader is referred especially to a very sensible discussion by O.H.Gates, Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, 1-vol.ed., pp.736–738.

Most of the poetry of the Old Testament falls within the general category of the Lyric. The fragments imbedded in the historical books are narrative lyric. The Psalms are lyrics with narrative and didactic elements. The Song of Songs is pure lyric with dramatic elements. Lamentations is entirely lyric. The poetic part of the book of Job is lyric with dramatic elements, or, as some critics would prefer to regard it, lyric with epic elements. Proverbs is entirely didactic and gains its place on the border-line between poetry and prose mainly by reason of the verse form in which it is written. The writings of the Prophets, with the exception of about two-thirds of Jeremiah, two-thirds of Ezekiel, Chapters xxxvi–xxxix of Isaiah, the first eight chapters of Zechariah, and bits of the other prophetic writings, are all poetic and predominantly lyric. Much of Ecclesiastes seems to be on the border-line between poetry and prose. The poetic part of Chapter xii (vv. 1–8) is pure lyric ; the first few verses of Chapter vii resemble the didactic-lyrical poetry of Proverbs ; other parts constitute a connected philosophizing discussion which in structure and rhythm approaches the province of prose.

The attempt to characterize the foregoing parts of the Old Testament writings as poetry, and in the main as lyrical poetry, brings to the fore the eternal questions of the difference between poetry (or verse) and prose and of the nature of the lyric. These are questions which of course cannot be settled here. Some general observations may however be pertinent. As one reads these parts of the Bible which are thought of as poetry, sometimes so closely associated with the parts of the Bible which are obviously what is called prose, three reactions doubtless arise in the mind : (1) That these parts vary widely in their poetic qualities ; (2) that most of these parts may without much difficulty be distinguished in content, structure, and

rhythm from those parts which are thought of as prose; and (3) that even the prose which is not narrative (historical) is so charged with feeling as to remove it from the province of pure prose (directed by pure reason). Prose in its most typical form – that in which the intellectual content is 'furnished largely by indirect comprehension, or judgment and reflective thought,'[1] is entirely absent from the Bible.[2] Poetry in its most typical form, that is, poetry in which the imagination and the feeling have full sway, in which the intellectual content is furnished by the process of direct apprehension, or immediate understanding, in other terms, the pure lyric – everywhere abounds.[3] Between the two extremes, are many specimens of varying quality and form, illustrated by the following references to poetic and prose passages from the Old Testament:

Pure poetry – a typical lyric – Psalm 23
Narrative lyric (or lyrical ballad) – Song of Deborah (Judges v)
Semi-didactic lyric – Psalm 37 (cf. Psalm 90:10–12)
Didactic lyric – Proverbs xiii
Philosophical lyric – Job xv

1. Quoted from C.M.Lotspeich, 'Poetry, Prose, and Rhythm,' in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, vol.37, no.2 (1922), pp.293–310.
2. An example of the kind of pure expository prose that is not found in the Bible is the following: 'Parallelism both associates and dissociates; it associates two lines by the correspondence of ideas which it implies; it dissociates them by the differentiation of the terms by means of which the corresponding ideas are expressed as well as by the fact that the one parallel line is fundamentally a repetition of the other. The effect of dissociation is a constant occurrence of breaks or pauses, or rather a constant recurrence of two different types of breaks or pauses: (1) the break between the two parallel and corresponding lines; and (2) the greater break at the end of the second line before the thought is resumed and carried forward in another combination of parallel lines.' – Quoted from G.B.Gray, *The Forms of Hebrew Poetry*, p.126.
3. In addition to Mr. Lotspeich's article, just referred to, the reader will find most interesting Mr.C.E.Whitmore's essay entitled 'A Definition of the Lyric' – *P.M.L.A.*, vol.33,no.4 (1918), pp.584–600.

Prose, verging on poetry – Ezekiel vi (cf. also Genesis i)
Border-line poetry and prose from Ecclesiastes – Chapter i: 4–11, verse ; 12–17, prose ; Chapter vi: 1–5, prose ; Chapter xii: 1–8, verse
Narrative prose – Genesis iii
Biographical prose – Zechariah iii

Forms of Old Testament Verse

The literature of the Old Testament, even as it comes to us in the continuous prose form of the King James Version, is clearly recognized in its general outline as consisting of what we understand as prose and verse. We recognize the poetic language, the elevation of thought and feeling, the regular recurrence of stress, the existence of rhythmic units of thought and expression – even in the arbitrary division of the text into so-called 'verses.' A great service to readers of the Bible in English was performed by the editors of the Revised Version when they printed in verse form, that is, in lines uniform in length and in number of accents, those parts of the book – fragments, short complete poems, and larger units of composition – which they thought the old Hebrew writers intended to be read as verse. For readers of the Old Testament in the original language, prolonged study of the characteristics of the verse has been carried on and many theories, often divergent one from another, have been advanced as to Hebrew metre, or, should one say, verse measures. The results of these studies are available to English readers and are generally understandable, save where the illustrative references are to the Hebrew itself.[1] Even for lay students of the Old Testament in English a general understanding of the characteristics of the verse measures is essential for an intelli-

1. Particularly valuable for the English student are the works of Gray, Briggs, Moulton, Smith, Meek, Cobb, etc., listed in the bibliography at the close of the book.

gent reading of the literature. There follows, therefore, a brief presentation of the essential elements.

The main characteristics of Old Testament verse as they may be recognized in the King James Version [1] may be concisely summarized.

1 Old Testament poetry is measured primarily by the rhythmical beat of the accents. A fairly uniform number of stresses – two, three, or four – marks the rhythmical unit, the number of unstressed syllables between stressed syllables being irregular. The unit of expression – whether consisting of a single long line broken into two parts by a caesura or of a single short line – is usually of a length to be uttered in a single breath.

2 The most common structural unit is the two-line unit or distich with $3 + 3$ accents. Less common arrangements are lines having $3 + 2$, $2 + 2$, and $4 + 4$ accents or rhythmical beats. Between the two members of the distich or between the three or four members of longer structural units there exist thought and structural relations which are designated by the term 'parallelism.'

3 Much of the Old Testament poetic literature may further

1. The phrasing 'Old Testament verse' rather than 'Hebrew verse' is used designedly. For the student of the English Bible, the results of scholarly studies of the Hebrew original are, of course, invaluable. But for the sake of gaining an understanding and appreciation of the poetic parts of the English Bible, it is unnecessary – even if it were possible – to attempt any sort of study of the various theories as to Hebrew metre and of the detailed applications of these theories to specific poems. It is not possible to apply strictly to the text as we have it in the King James Version the principles of Hebrew verse. For instance, the accent in the Hebrew falls normally on the last syllable of a word or on the next to the last. Stressing words thus in the English versions would often be impossible. Furthermore the English translators, not recognizing the presence of verse forms in the old texts, used units of expression which in number of words or syllables, in position of stresses, and in structural arrangement differ markedly from the original. The general features of the poetic rhythm and structure of the Old Testament are observable however even in the traditional prose form in which the King James translators handed down this great poetry to readers of the Bible as English literature.

be grouped into larger thought divisions – varying in the number of lines – which may be called strophes or stanzas.

4 Both rhyme and assonance exist to a slight extent in the Hebrew original, but not in the English translation.[1]

5 The presence of not a few 'alphabetical' or 'acrostic' poems in the Hebrew text might justify the regarding of this phenomenon as a structural characteristic, but here again the English translation does not exhibit this feature. 'The poems in the Bible which are directly alphabetical,' says E.G.King,[2] 'are Pss. 9 and 10 (imperfect), 25,34,37,111,112,119,145; Prov. xxxi: 10–31; Lam. i,ii,iii,iv.'

Parallelism

The distinguishing characteristic of Old Testament verse which unites the rhythmical members of structural units is known as 'parallelism.'[3] It may be defined as a correspondence in sense and a balance in form between successive lines of a structural unit. Three main types of parallelism in Old Testament verse were recognized by Bishop Lowth, and to these, two or three minor types have been added by later scholars.[4]

Synonymous parallelism. The thought of the first member of a structural unit is repeated in a second and occasionally in a third or a fourth member, the lines in the main resembling closely one another in structure.

1. For brief discussions of rhyme in Hebrew poetry, see Smith, pp.24,25 and Gray, pp.63,236,237n.
2. *Early Religious Poetry of the Hebrews*, p.54. See also pp.55–73.
3. This principle was first discussed by Bishop Robert Lowth in his book entitled *De Sacra Poesi Hebraeorum Praelectiones Academicae*, 1753 (English translation, London, 1847, pp.205–221). The best recent discussion seems to be that of Gray, *The Forms of Hebrew Poetry*, London, 1915. See also Fowler, pp.25–33 and C.F.Burney, *The Book of Judges* (2d ed. London, 1930), pp.96–102 and 158–171.
4. See Briggs, *General Introduction*, pp.367,368.

The heavens declare the glory of God;
And the firmament sheweth his handywork. (Ps. xix:1)

Antithetic parallelism. The thought of the second line is in contrast to that of the first line, the structure of the second line conforming closely to that of the first line.

A wise son maketh a glad father:
But a foolish man despiseth his mother. (Prov. xv:20)

Synthetic parallelism. The second member of the structural unit completes or supplements the thought of the first member.

The rich and poor meet together:
The Lord is the maker of them all. (Prov. xxii:2)

Introverted parallelism. In a four-line strophe, for instance, the first line corresponds with the fourth and the second with the third.

My son, if thine heart be wise,
My heart shall rejoice, even mine.
Yea, my reins shall rejoice,
When thy lips speak right things. (Prov. xxiii:15,16)

Stairlike parallelism. Repetitions of accented words, or of terms standing for such words, occur in a progressive movement in successive lines.

I will lift up mine eyes unto the *hills*,
From *whence* cometh my *help*.
My *help* cometh from the *Lord*
Which made heaven and earth. (Ps. cxxi:1,2)

Emblematic parallelism. A statement in one line suggests an application in another line.

As coals are to burning coals, and wood to fire;
So is a contentious man to kindle strife. (Prov. xxvi:21)

General observations. The following general observations may be added to the preceding succinct statement of characteristics of Old Testament verse.

1 Parallelism as a structural characteristic is not peculiar to Hebrew verse nor is it to be recognized only in verse. It is characteristic of Babylonian and Arabic literature. Its appearance in what we think of as prose has led some scholars to regard, for instance, the main part of the book of Genesis as verse. But as Professor Gray well points out, a line may be drawn between the metrical prose of, say, Genesis i and Psalm 33. In the former is found a single line of narrative with connected clauses, the single line being rarely broken; whereas, in the latter are found two lines, parallel in meaning and in terms, with independent clauses, the lines being constantly broken and at fairly regular intervals.[1]

2 Biblical scholars, even including Bishop Lowth himself, have not been entirely satisfied with the term 'synthetic parallelism.' There does not exist a real balance of structure or a real resemblance of ideas. Here again Professor Gray is helpful in suggesting that often two such lines to which the term 'synthetic parallelism' is applied are parallel only in the way that the continuation of the same straight line is parallel to the beginning.[2] But however the phenomenon may be classed, the presence of these short rhythmical units in which the thought of the first line or clause is completed in the second is clearly recognized throughout the whole extent of Old Testament poetry. Much of the so-called 'kinah' measure or 'echoing' rhythm (e.g., Lam. v) is of this type of 'parallelism.'

3 For the student of English literature, the peculiar characteristics of Old Testament verse are illuminated by a comparison with Anglo-Saxon metre, which, apart from its alliteration,

1. Gray, pp.54ff.
2. *Ibid.*, pp.49ff.

presents a fairly close analogy to the prevailing Old Testament poetic measure.[1]

Poetical Passages

The following poetical passages may serve to illustrate the main forms and many of the variations of the main forms of Old Testament poetry. An attempt is made here to indicate the rhythmical beats for some of the passages, and the structural units of the text of the King James Version – at least, as they reveal themselves to the poetic sensibilities of one sensitive if not learnedly critical reader.

A Single-line unit (monostich)

The Lord shall reign for ever-and-ever (Exod. xv:18)
I will love thee, O Lord, my strength (Ps. xviii:1)
Thy throne, O God, is for ever-and-ever (Ps. xlv:6a – possibly to be regarded as the first line of a strophe)

B Two-line unit (distich or couplet)

(1) Because their transgressions are many,
And their backslidings are increased. (Jer. v:6)

(2) A good-name is rather to be chosen than great-riches,
And loving-favour rather than silver-and-gold (Prov. xxii:1)

(3) Our inheritance is turned to strangers
Our houses to aliens. (Lam. v:2)

(4) A soft-answer turneth-away wrath ;
But grievous-words stir-up anger (Prov. xv:1)

(5) The eyes of the Lord are in every-place
Beholding the evil and the good. (Prov. xv:3)

1. For a valuable presentation of this idea, see especially Gray, pp.127ff.

(6) As coals are to burning-coals, and wood to fire;
So is a contentious man to kindle strife. (Prov. xxvi:21)

(7) Adah and Zillah, Hear my voice;
Ye wives of Lamech, hearken unto my speech. (Gen. iv:23)

C Three-line unit (tristich)

(1) Who is like-unto-thee, O Lord, among the gods?
Who is like-thee, glorious in holiness,
Fearful in praises, doing wonders. (Exod. xv:11)

(2) Make a joyful-noise unto the Lord, all ye lands.
Serve the Lord with gladness;
Come before his presence with singing. (Ps. c:1,2)

(3) Ye daughters of Israel, weep over Saul,
Who clothed you in scarlet, with other delights,
Who put on ornaments-of-gold upon your apparel. (2 Sam. i:24)

D Four-line unit (tetrastich)

(1) Hate the evil, and love the good,
And establish judgment in the gate.
It may be that the Lord-God of hosts
Will be gracious unto the remnant of Joseph. (Amos v:15)

(2) Canst thou bind the sweet-influences of Pleiades,
Or loose the bands of Orion?
Canst thou bring-forth Mazzaroth in his season?
Or canst thou guide Arcturus with his sons? (Job xxxviii:31,32)

E Strophic poems

(1) Psalm 1

Blessed is the man
That walketh not in the counsel of the ungodly,
Nor standeth in the way of sinners,
Nor sitteth in the seat of the scornful.
But his delight is in the law of the Lord;
And in his law doth he meditate day and night.
And he shall be like a tree planted by the rivers of water,
That bringeth forth his fruit in his season;
His leaf also shall not wither;
And whatsoever he doeth shall prosper.

The ungodly are not so;
But are like the chaff which the wind driveth away.
Therefore the ungodly shall not stand in the judgment,
Nor sinners in the congregation of the righteous.
For the Lord knoweth the way of the righteous;
But the way of the ungodly shall perish.

(2) Psalm 23

The Lord is my shepherd; I shall not want.
He maketh me to lie down in green pastures;
He leadeth me beside the still waters.
He restoreth my soul;
He leadeth me in the paths of righteousness
For his name's sake.

Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death,
I will fear no evil;
For thou art with me;
Thy rod and thy staff they comfort me.

Thou preparest a table before me
In the presence of mine enemies;
Thou anointest my head with oil;
My cup runneth over.

Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me
All the days of my life;
And I will dwell in the house of the Lord for ever.[1]

(3) The Lament of David, 2 Sam. i: (17) and 19–37.

And David lamented with this lamentation over Saul and over Jonathan his son:

The beauty of Israel is slain upon thy high places:
How are the mighty fallen!

Tell it not in Gath,
Publish it not in the streets of Askelon;
Lest the daughters of the Philistines rejoice,
Lest the daughters of the uncircumcised triumph.

Ye mountains of Gilboa, let there be no dew,
Neither let there be rain, upon you, nor fields of offerings;
For there the shield of the mighty is vilely cast away,
The shield of Saul, as though he had not been anointed with oil.

From the blood of the slain,
From the fat of the mighty,
The bow of Jonathan turned not back,
And the sword of Saul returned not empty.

Saul and Jonathan were lovely and pleasant in their lives,

1. For different strophic arrangements of this poem, see, for example, King, p.118 (2 strophes), Briggs, p.384 (3 strophes), and Moulton, *Modern Reader's Bible*, p.763 (5 strophes).

And in their death they were not divided.
They were swifter than eagles,
They were stronger than lions.

Ye daughters of Israel, weep over Saul,
Who clothed you in scarlet, with other delights,
Who put on ornaments of gold upon your apparel.

How are the mighty fallen in the midst of the battle!
O Jonathan, thou wast slain in thine high places.

I am distressed for thee, my brother Jonathan.
Very pleasant hast thou been unto me.
Thy love to me was wonderful,
Passing the love of women.

How are the mighty fallen,
And the weapons of war perished!

(4) Job xxxviii: (1) and 2–41

Then the Lord answered Job out of the whirlwind, and said,
Who is this that darkeneth counsel
By words without knowledge?
Gird up now thy loins like a man;
For I will demand of thee, and answer thou me.

Where wast thou when I laid the foundations of the earth?
Declare, if thou hast understanding.
Who hath laid the measures thereof, if thou knowest?
Or who hath stretched the line upon it?
Whereupon are the foundations thereof fastened?
Or who laid the corner stone thereof;
When the morning stars sang together,
And all the sons of God shouted for joy?

Or who shut up the sea with doors,
When it brake forth, as if it had issued out of the womb?
When I made the cloud the garment thereof,
And thick darkness a swaddlingband for it,
And brake up for it my decreed place,
And set bars and doors, and said,
Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further;
And here shall thy proud waves be stayed?

Hast thou commanded the morning since thy days;
And caused the dayspring to know his place;
That it might take hold of the ends of the earth,
That the wicked might be shaken out of it?
It is turned as clay to the seal;
And they stand as a garment.
And from the wicked their light is withholden,
And the high arm shall be broken.

Hast thou entered into the springs of the sea?
Or hast thou walked in the search of the depth?
Have the gates of death been opened unto thee?
Or hast thou seen the doors of the shadow of death?

Hast thou perceived the breadth of the earth?
Declare if thou knowest it all.
Where is the way where light dwelleth?
And as for darkness, where is the place thereof,
That thou shouldest take it to the bound thereof,
And that thou shouldest know the paths to the house thereof?
Knowest thou it, because thou wast then born?
Or because the number of thy days is great?

Hast thou entered into the treasures of the snow?
Or hast thou seen the treasures of the hail,
Which I have reserved against the time of trouble,
Against the day of battle and war?

By what way is the light parted,
Which scattereth the east wind upon the earth?

Who hath divided a watercourse for the overflowing of waters,
Or a way for the lightning of thunder;
To cause it to rain on the earth, where no man is;
On the wilderness, wherein there is no man;
To satisfy the desolate and waste ground;
And to cause the bud of the tender herb to spring forth?
Hath the rain a father?
Or who hath begotten the drops of dew?

Out of whose womb came the ice?
And the hoary frost of heaven, who hath gendered it?
The waters are hid as with a stone,
And the face of the deep is frozen.

Canst thou bind the sweet influences of Pleiades,
Or loose the bands of Orion?
Canst thou bring forth Mazzaroth in his season?
Or canst thou guide Arcturus with his sons?

Knowest thou the ordinances of heaven?
Canst thou set the dominion thereof in the earth?
Canst thou lift up thy voice to the clouds,
That abundance of waters may cover thee?
Canst thou send lightnings, that they may go,
And say unto thee, Here we are?

Who hath put wisdom in the inward parts?
Or who hath given understanding to the heart?
Who can number the clouds in wisdom?
Or who can stay the bottles of heaven,
When the dust groweth into hardness,
And the clods cleave fast together?

Wilt thou hunt the prey for the lion?
Or fill the appetite of the young lions,
When they couch in their dens,
And abide in the covert to lie in wait?
Who provideth for the raven his food?
When his young ones cry unto God,
They wander for lack of meat.

FRAGMENTS OF VERSE AND COMPLETE SHORT POEMS EMBEDDED IN THE HISTORICAL BOOKS

Embedded in the prose works of the early books of the Old Testament are many fragments of verse and several complete short poems. They are in the main narrative-lyric. They consist of songs of praise, rejoicing, prayer, blessing, lament, wisdom, victory in battle. The following list comprises all that are clearly recognized as verse, some of them, indeed, being on the border-line between verse and prose.

Genesis iv:23,24 The Song of Lamech, sometimes called the Song of the Sword, a little poem reflecting primitive conditions of life, the two verses being a conclusion to the prose story beginning with v.19.

And Lamech said unto his wives,
Adáh and Zíllah, heár my vóice;
Ye wíves of Lámech, heárken unto my speéch:
For I have sláin a mán to my wóunding,
And a yóung mán to my húrt.[1]

Genesis v:29 A song of Lamech concerning his son Noah
ix:25–27 The curse and the blessing of Noah
xvi:11,12 The song of the angel to Hagar
xxiv:60 The blessing of Rebekah by her brother and her mother
xxv:23 The nation's birth song

1. Here, as later with other of these poems, an attempt is made to indicate the verse forms as they may be recognized in the King James Version.

And the Lord said unto her [Rebekah],

Two nations are in thy womb,
And two manner-of-people shall be separated from thy bowels;
And the one-people shall be stronger than the other-people;
And the elder shall serve the younger.

Genesis xxvii: 27–29 and 39,40 Blessing of Jacob and of Esau by Isaac
xlix: 1–27 The blessing by Jacob of his twelve sons

Exodus xv: 1–21 The song of Moses and Miriam. This passage, of which vv. 1a and 19, 20 are in prose, illustrates the obvious transitions from prose to verse which arise in connection with all of the pieces appearing on this list.

Then sang Moses and the children of Israel this song unto the Lord, and spake, saying,

I will sing unto the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously:
The horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea.

For the horse of Pharaoh went in with his chariots and with his horsemen into the sea, and the Lord brought again the waters of the sea upon them; but the children of Israel went on dry land in the midst of the sea. And Miriam the prophetess, the sister of Aaron, took a timbrel in her hand; and all the women went out after her with timbrels and with dances. And Miriam answered them,

Sing ye to the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously:
The horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea.

Exodus xx: 2–17 The Ten Words (on the border-line between verse and prose)
Leviticus x: 3 Words of Jehovah to his people

Numbers vi:24–26 Blessing of the children of Israel
x:35,36 The Ark song
xii:6–8 Words of Jehovah to Moses and Aaron
xxi:14,15 Praise of the deeds of Jehovah
:17,18 Song of the Well
:27,30 Song of praise of destruction of enemies

Of these last three bits of song, which arise in the midst of the prose narrative, the Song of the Well is probably the most interesting:

Then Israel sang this song,
Spring up, O well; sing ye unto it.
The princes digged the well,
The nobles of the people digged it,
By the direction of the lawgiver, with their staves.

Numbers xxiii:7–10,18–24; xxiv:3–9,15–24 Oracles of Balaam. A possible metrical arrangement of the second oracle, which would seem to present clearly to readers of the King James text the relation of the parts, is here suggested:

Rise up, Balak, and hear;
Hearken unto me, thou son of Zippor.

God is not a man, that he should lie;
Neither the son of man, that he should repent.
Hath he said, and shall he not do it?
Or hath he spoken, and shall he not make it good?

Behold, I have received commandment to bless;
And he hath blessed; and I cannot reverse it.

He hath not beheld iniquity in Jacob,
Neither hath he seen perverseness in Israel.
The Lord his God is with-him,
And the shout of a king is among-them.

God brought them out of Egypt.
He hath as it were the strength of an unicorn.

Surely there is no enchantment against Jacob,
Neither is there any divination against Israel.
According to this time it shall be said of Jacob
And of Israel, what hath God wrought!

Behold the people shall rise-up as a great-lion,
And lift up himself as a young-lion.
He shall not lie-down until he eat of the prey,
And drink the blood of the slain.

Deuteronomy xxvii: 15–26 Curses by the Levites (border-line verse)

xxxii: 1–43 Song of Moses, setting forth the greatness of the Lord, his protection of his people, their defection, and the Lord's vengeance

xxxiii Blessing of Moses, setting forth the prosperity of the twelve tribes of Israel under the favouring direction of God

Joshua x: 12, 13 Song on the Sun and Moon:

Then spake Joshua to the Lord . . .
Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon;
And thou, Moon, in the valley of Ajalon.
And the sun stood still,
And the moon stayed,
Until the people had avenged themselves
Upon their enemies.

Judges v Song of Deborah

This great war poem is one of the earliest pieces of Hebrew literature that have been preserved. It dates from about 1200

B.C., in the period during which took place the early settlement of the tribes of Israel in Canaan.[1]

The poem represents a parallel account to the prose narrative of Judges, Chapter iv, which in its present form, at least, is the later of the two versions and seems to have been based on the poetic account, which scholars generally accept as a contemporary document. There are several discrepancies between the two accounts and even internal discrepancies in the prose narrative. The text of the poem is also corrupt and parts are not entirely intelligible. But the general conditions are reasonably clear. The contrast between the informational, objective prose narrative and the vivid pictures, the life-like characterizations, the universal human elements, and the language, rhythm, and metrical structure of the poem illustrates the fundamental difference between the prose and the poetry of the Old Testament, as indeed between prose and poetry in any literature.[2]

Judges ix:7–15 Jotham's Parable (border-line verse)
xiv:14,18; xv:16; xvi:24. Snatches of Song
1 Samuel ii:1–10 Song of Hannah
xv:22,23,33 Proverbial sayings
xviii:7; xxi:11; xxix:5 Words in praise of David
xxiv:13 Proverbial saying
2 Samuel i:17–27 Elegy of David over Saul and Jonathan

The lament of David over Saul and Jonathan is a simple, sincere, deeply moving expression of personal grief for the loss

1. The lay student of the English Bible should not yield too readily to the temptation to accept specific dates for the composition of the early literature of the Hebrews or for the historical events to which reference is made. It is better, for instance, to date the events of the *Song of Deborah* about 1200 B.C., than to make such unsupported positive statements as 'the battle occurred in the eleventh century,' or 'the battle occurred in the tenth century.'

2. On the *Song of Deborah*, the reader is referred particularly to Fowler, pp.17–24, Burney, pp.78–176, and Smith (*Early Poetry of Israel*), pp. 80–90.

of a friend, with whom is associated the friend's father, King Saul. This is a purely secular poem. This fact would seem to indicate the genuineness of Davidic, or at least of early authorship, in that a later poem on this subject would no doubt have introduced Jehovah in his relation to David or Saul or both. Most scholars are satisfied to attribute the poem to David himself. As such, it remains as a valuable contemporary document. It is a strophic poem with lines of two, three, four, and possibly five stresses. Relying on the King James Version solely, one might reasonably divide the poem into nine stanzas of which the first, seventh, and ninth constitute refrains (vv.19,25a and possibly 25b, and 27).[1]

2 Samuel iii: 33,34 Elegy over Abner
xx: 1b Song of the Benjamite
xxii: 2–51 David's Ode of praise. The consensus of critical opinions regards this poem as post-exilic, in content and expression almost identical with Psalm xviii.
xxiii: 1–7 Last words of David, a little poem likewise hardly to be attributed to David himself.
1 Kings viii: 12,13,15,23,24,56–61 Parts of the speech and prayer of Solomon
xii: 16b A song of the people of Israel

THE PSALMS

General statement. The Book of Psalms is a collection of religious poems composed at various times by various authors and

1. A study of the Lament of David suggests inevitably a comparison with other lament poems such as Milton's *Lycidas*, Tennyson's *In Memoriam*, Shelley's *Adonais*, Arnold's *Thyrsis*, not to speak of the very old lament of Gilgamesh for Engidu in the *Gilgamesh Epic*, Tablet VIII, ll. 14–36; and an association with stories of famous friendships, such as those of Damon and Pythias, Achilles and Patrocles, Orestes and Pylades, Socrates and Alcibiades, Alexander and Hephaestion, Pericles and Phidias, Theseus and Pirithous.

compiled and arranged to form what is generally admitted to be the hymn-book of the Second Temple (520–516 B.C.). These poems all relate specifically to experiences of the Hebrew people. 'Speaking generally,' says Professor Driver,[1] 'The Psalms consist of reflections, cast into a poetical form, upon the various aspects in which God manifests Himself either in nature, or towards Israel, or the individual soul, accompanied often – or, indeed, usually – by an outpouring of the emotions and affections of the Psalmist.' Yet, though thus local and national in their specific application, they rise through the universality of the thought and feeling, the depth of emotion, and the force and beauty of expression to the plane of great world literature.

Other old literatures have produced poems on similar subjects. There have come down, for instance, from Egypt, a psalm in praise of Amon-Re (the Sun-God) dating approximately 1450 B.C., and another hymn of praise to the Sun-God, composed by Pharaoh Amenophis IV, who reigned in the second quarter of the fourteenth century,[2] which present interesting points of resemblance with the Old Testament Psalms. From Babylonia, also, a considerable body of such poetry has been handed down to posterity.[3] The superiority of the Hebrew psalms in both content and style is unmistakable.[4]

The Book of Psalms, as we now have it, though it probably

1. *Introduction*, p.368.
2. For the texts, see Adolf Erman, *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians* (London, 1927), pp.283–288 and pp.288–291. For comparisons between the Psalms and these hymns, see Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible* (7th ed., revised, 1937), p.505, and W.O.E. Oesterley, *A Fresh Approach to the Psalms* (New York, 1937), pp.12–19.
3. See Barton, op.cit., pp.497–501, and Oesterley, op.cit., pp.19–23. For additional references to works dealing with the subject of Babylonian and Egyptian hymns and psalms, see Oesterley and Robinson, *An Introduction to the Books of the Old Testament*, p.198.
4. Questions of relative age and of possible borrowings seem to remain unsettled even among the learned.

embraces within its pages the finest product of the Hebrew people in this province of poetry, does not comprise the whole body of Hebrew songs of praise and prayer. Manuscripts of the Septuagint contain a Psalm which deals with David's fight with Goliath. It was probably added to the Greek Psalter after the fifth book was complete and is known as No.cli.[1] There exists also a collection of eighteen psalms, known as *The Psalms of Solomon*, which were written probably about the middle of the first century B.C.[2] Other similar poems may have been in existence at the time that the Hebrew canon was established (second century B.C.; official sanction about A.D. 100). We may however remain reasonably certain that in our present collection we have the 'finest of the wheat.'

Structure and groupings. Of the Book of Psalms, there seem to be five main divisions, each of which concludes with a doxology: (1) Psalms 1–41, (2) 42–72, (3) 73–89, (4) 90–106, and (5) 107–150. Inasmuch as the doxologies at the end of 72 and 106 are integral parts of these poems, the number of sections may be reduced to three: (1) 1–41, (2) 42–89, (3) 90–150. Certain inconsistencies and duplications in the collection may be indicated. Psalms 9 and 10 of the King James Version are united to form 9 of the Vulgate; 116 (vv.1–9 and vv.10–19) of the King James equals 114 and 115 of the Vulgate; 114 and 115 of the King James equal 113 (vv.1–8 and vv.1–18) of the Vulgate; 147 (vv.1–11 and vv.12–20) of the King James equals 146 and 147 of the Vulgate. Psalms 42 and 43 must have constituted originally one poem with three refrains (42:5 and 11 and 43:5); No.89 :19–37 supplements

1. See H.B.Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* (Cambridge, 1914), pp.252,253.
2. See Swete, op.cit., pp.282,283, and, for the text and discussion, R.H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (Oxford, 1913), vol.II, pp.625–652.

No.78 ; No.53 duplicates No.14 ; No.70 duplicates No.40: 13–17 ; and No.57:7–11 and 60:5–12 equal No.108 ; etc. Several groupings of psalms within the five main divisions have been made : No.120–134 are known as Songs of Degrees or Songs of Ascents or Graduals ; No.103–108, as the main Hallel (Praise) group or the 'Egyptian Hallel,' to distinguish it from the 'Great Hallel' (120–136), No.146–150 also partaking of the Hallel nature ; No.6,32,38,51,102,130, and 143, as Penitential Psalms ; and No.2,20,21,45,61,72,89,110, and 132, possibly as Royal Psalms. Another general classification would regard the poems of the first part (1–41) as personal lyrics ; those of the second and third parts (42–89) as national lyrics, those of the fourth and fifth parts (90–150) as liturgical lyrics.

Authorship and date. So little is definitely known about the authorship and the time of composition of the poems which go to make up the Book of Psalms that it is hazardous to attempt even a summarizing statement of critical opinion. A general ascription of the whole book and more specific assignments of single poems have been made to David. We are safe in saying that many of the Psalms could not have been written by David and that many might possibly have been written by David or by poets of his age. Not a single psalm, says Bewer, 'can be pointed out which every one could recognize as David's.' [1] Beyond this it is hardly safe to go. The question of authorship, after all, is hardly of the magnitude to justify the many hypotheses on which much labour has been spent.[2] The problem of time of composition is closely involved with that of authorship. And here again a non-committal attitude is

1. *Literature of the Old Testament*, p.343. A similar statement is made by Cheyne (*Ency.Bibl.*, col.1035).
2. 'The question, however, whether any of the Psalms are David's possesses in reality little but an antiquarian interest.' – Driver, *Introduction*, p.380.

safest. Some of the poems seem obviously to date from a period after the exile, probably as late as 100 B.C.; others seem to reflect conditions of the exile; and still others, in whole or part, might well apply to pre-exilic conditions, even as far removed as the time of the monarchy. The latest psalms were composed before 100 B.C. The Psalter was a closed book before 50 B.C.[1] This brief summarizing discussion may well close with a quotation from Professor Driver: 'Every indication converges to the same conclusion, viz., that the "Davidic" Psalms spring, in fact, from many different periods of Israelitish history, from the time of David himself downwards; and that . . . they set before us the experiences of many men, and of many ages of the national life.'[2]

Nature of the subject-matter. All the poems in the Book of Psalms are, with the possible exception of No.45, religious in their nature. There is, however, great variety of approach, of outlook, of details of content, and of emotional or spiritual appeal. A primary classification might suggest three main groups: personal or individual, national or communal, and congregational or liturgical. It is a question, however, whether or no the emotion or idea that is expressed in one or another of the psalms, such as No.6,7,13,16,22,23,25,31, etc., represents the experience of an individual or of the group. Furthermore, even though we may feel that many of the psalms, such as No.46,47, 51,66,80,85,90, etc., represent the experiences of the group, and that from one point of view they may be looked upon as poetry of the people or communal poetry, yet the hand of an individual must have been responsible for the conception, the unity, the artistry of the finished product. And, finally, in the case of the psalms which express the elements of worship, such

1. See, for instance, Oesterley, *A Fresh Approach to the Psalms*, p.52.
2. *Introduction*, p.377.

as No.11,20,33,48,68,74,95,96, it is not entirely clear whether such hymns were intended for personal or for congregational use.

Certain kinds of poetry may be clearly recognized in this body of lyric verse. There are poems, such as No.8,23,24,38,42 and 43,46,95:1–7a,100, which may be classed as *pure lyrics*, poems in which the imagination has full sway, the emotion of the psalmist expresses itself freely, with no suspicion of abstract reason, and truth reveals itself by immediate understanding. At the other extreme are poems, such as No.15,37,78,109, which may be classed as *didactic lyrics*, poems in which the elements of admonition or instruction stand out above the spiritual emotion of the makers of the poems. Close to such poems are what may be classed as *reflective or meditative lyrics*, such as No.19, 36,89,90, in which the poet is consciously reflecting upon the theme of the poem, reason enters into the conclusions of the thinker, and indirect comprehension takes the place partly of intuition or an immediate grasp of the truth of the subject under contemplation. Other forms of lyric poetry in this great collection are the *nature lyric*, such as No.29,80,104, and 107: 23ff.; the *elegiac lyric*, such as No.90,120, and 137; the *lyrical ballad*, such as No.105,106,135, and 136; the *processional ode*, No.68. Among all these and the rest of the poems in the collection are psalms of praise, thanksgiving, adoration, reflection, imprecation, admonition, penitence, petition, prayer, lament, nature worship.

Illustrations of poetic excellence. In so large and varied a collection of poems as this, relating to so many different aspects of the religious experience of the Hebrews, belonging to different periods of their historical and religious development, and attributable for authorship certainly to more than one individual, we should expect to find varying degrees of poetic

excellence. Brief references to some of the more striking poems may here be made :

Psalm 6 – a personal plea for help against the enemy, which stresses the close dependence of the individual on the mercy of Jehovah.

Psalm 8 – a psalm of adoration of Jehovah for his great works in heaven and earth. The universality of the poem is suggested by similar expressions in other works of world literature – e.g., *Hamlet*, II:2:315ff.; Sophocles' *Antigone*, ll.332–350; *Job*, Chapter vii:17,18; *Ecclesiasticus*, xviii:8–10; Psalm 144:3; Pascal, *Pensées*, Chapter X.

Psalm 19 – a hymn of praise for the greatness of Jehovah as manifested in the eternal and the daily works of the creator. This poem brought forth Ruskin's well-known exposition in *Modern Painters*, vol.V, part VII, chapter IV, The Angel of the Sea.

Psalm 23 – the most brilliant star, probably, in the whole galaxy of lyrics.

Psalm 24 – a song which by its antiphonal nature suggests the idea of communal composition.

Psalm 42 and 43 – a psalm which opens with a beautiful homely figure of speech, suggests in verse 7 the vast scope of the manifestations of the greatness of Jehovah, and in its refrains expresses the hope of the people in the mercy of their God.

Psalm 51 – a hymn of prayer and petition which stresses purity of heart and uprightness of living. The first verse has been called 'the neck-verse of medieval justice.'

Psalm 90 – a prayer to the great God of the universe for mercy and help. It has been called the 'Dirge of Humanity.' A consideration of Gladstone's enthusiastic comment, even if one cannot yield complete assent, may lead to a proper evaluation of this great poem: 'perhaps the most sublime of human

composition, the deepest in feeling, the loftiest in theological conception, the most magnificent in its imagery.' This poem illustrates well what may be said of much of the Old Testament poetry – to realize the power and beauty of a single poem one must read it as a unit of composition in which the component parts are often loosely related as to specific ideas but still contribute harmoniously to the final impression of a unified whole.

Psalm 95: 1–7a and 96 – Hymns of which the song quality of the rhythm is especially striking.

Psalm 104 – a nature lyric, which reminds the reader of the great nature poem of Job, Chapter xxxviii.

Psalms 105 and 106 – lyrical ballads, with historical elements.

Psalm 137: 1–6 – An elegiac poem, in which the arrangement of words helps greatly in producing the perfect rhythm, the contrast between which and the imperfect rhythms of modern revisions is most striking.

Poetic form. The Psalms exhibit great variety of the fundamental characteristics of Old Testament poetry: lines of reasonably uniform length, marked by regularity in the number of accents; parallelism of rhythmical units, synonymous, antithetic, and synthetic; irregular-length strophes determined by the thoughts which mark the development of the idea of the poem.

Lasting beauty of the King James text. The study which has been suggested by the foregoing discussion of the Psalms will have disclosed the great absolute beauty of these religious poems. The impression of supreme excellence of style might well be supplemented by comparisons between the King James

Version and other versions which are at our call. Psalm 23, for instance, lends itself admirably for such a comparison. There have been innumerable paraphrases or metrical versions of the Psalms in modern English, the outstanding ones being probably Sternhold and Hopkins, 1562, Tate and Brady, 1696, and Dr. Watts, 1719. As illustrative, the short-metre version of Dr. Watts is given in an appendix. Accompanying this very modern version are also printed there, the celebrated sixteenth-century Latin paraphrase of George Buchanan, and, going farther back, the rendering of the Latin Vulgate. If Matthew Arnold's dictum about the great style in poetry is valid, that one must feel the greatness in order to recognize it, such a comparison as is here suggested could have but one effect – to confirm for the reader the impression of the surpassing beauty of the renderings of the King James translators.

THE SONG OF SONGS

General statement. The Song of Songs, otherwise known as the Song of Solomon, from the traditional attribution to the great King, and as the Canticles, from the title in the Vulgate 'Canticum Canticorum,' belongs to the third division of the Old Testament literature, the Writings or Hagiographa. It is the first of the five Megilloth or Rolls which were read at the great annual feasts of the Jews – the Song of Songs at the Passover, Ruth at Pentecost, Lamentations at the anniversary of the destruction of Jerusalem, Ecclesiastes at the Feast of Tabernacles, and Esther at the Feast of Purim. The poem probably strikes most modern readers as purely secular. It is therefore not surprising to learn that it was one of the last books to find a place in the Hebrew canon and that its authenticity was questioned in the early centuries of the Christian era. The Song is never referred to in the other Old Testament books, the Old

Testament Apocrypha, the New Testament, Philo, or Josephus.[1] That its secular character was more than suspected at the time when the Hebrew canon was established may be inferred from the conditions which accounted for the statement in the Sanhedrin XII that Rabbi Akiba declared that 'he who sings from the Song of Songs in the wine houses and makes a (secular) song of it has no part in the world to come.'[2] The same R.Akiba declared that 'the whole world is not worth the day on which the Song was given.'[3] Its admission into the Canon was no doubt based on two assumptions: (1) its Solomonic authorship, and (2) the existence of a veiled religious meaning. And a modern scholar[4] justifies thus its presence in the sacred collection: 'They [the songs of the poem] reinforce the instinctive conviction of mankind that human love is sacred even in its passionate manifestation, when not perverted by a sophisticated self-analysis.'

Authorship and date. The ascription of the authorship of this poem to Solomon followed the tradition which was recorded in 1 Kings iv:32: 'And he spake three thousand proverbs: and his songs were a thousand and five.' According to Jewish tradition, the three canonical books that were attributed to Solomon—the Song of Songs, Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes—were written respectively in his youth, his maturity, and his old age. But the great king could not have composed any one of these three books as they have been handed down to us. The author, or authors, if we think of the book as a compilation of several love poems by different singers, are unknown. So is the date—the consensus of scholars placing it

1. *The New Standard Bible Dictionary* (New York, 1926), p.860.
2. Tosefta, Sanhedrin XII.
3. Yodayim, III, Mishnah V.
4. Morris Jastrow, Jr., *The Song of Songs*, p.16.

after the exile and probably in the Greek period (the third century B.C.).

Interpretation. There have been four main explanations of the nature and the meaning of this book:

1 That it is an allegory, either, (a) as the Jews interpreted it, of the love of Jehovah for Israel, or (b) as early Christianity regarded it, of the love of Christ for the Church.

2 That it is a drama, either (a) with two main characters, Solomon and the Shulamite maiden, or (b) with three main characters, Solomon, the Shulamite maiden, and her shepherd lover. According to this latter interpretation, the story might run somewhat as follows: 'A beautiful country girl from Shulam was surprised by the king on one of his journeys to the North, was brought to Jerusalem and placed in the royal palace, where, as the poem opens, the ladies of the harem ("daughters of Jerusalem") are singing the praises of Solomon. The king makes great efforts to win the affection of the Shulamite; but she remains faithful to the memory of her shepherd lover, who at last appears, and is allowed by the magnanimous monarch to return to his mountain home with her.'[1] Elaborate detailed analyses of the poem as a drama have been made by scholars, divisions into five or into six acts being suggested, but such attempts to explain the book are of doubtful value.[2]

3 That it is a collection of love songs composed to be sung at wedding festivals, compiled, revised, loosely connected by an editor, the unity being an artificial one, inasmuch as there was no author in our sense of the word. The songs are folk-songs. This theory gained much support in the light of the customs of Syrian peasants at wedding festivals as brought

1. See *The New Standard Bible Dictionary*, p.861.
2. For illustrations of the application of the dramatic theory, see, for example, Driver, pp.438–443.

to light by J.G.Wetzstein [1] and from the knowledge of modern Syrian wedding songs similar to those of the Song of Songs as revealed by G.Dalman.[2] As to the number of songs comprised in the collection, opinions differ, scholars finding variously five, seven, nine, and even as many as twenty-three poems, or cantos, or idylls.

4 That this is liturgical poetry having its origin in the Babylonian worship of Tammuz, the Sun God, the bridegroom of Ishtar, the goddess of fertility. The Tammuz origin was forgotten and the songs were used by the Hebrews in connection with the spring festival in honour of Jehovah.[3]

Of these four theories, the third—that the book is a collection of love songs, designed probably to be sung at wedding feasts and most likely not proceeding from any one author—is accepted today by most scholars. Of the several detailed analyses of the poem from the point of view suggested by this theory, Professor Jastrow's thorough-going discussion accompanied by a division of the poem into twenty-three songs is, at least to one student of the book, most revealing as to the nature of this love poetry, even if one finds too much subtlety in the specific topic assignments for these simple poems.[4] Jastrow's titles and the chapter and verse references are, aside from occasional slight reconstructions, as follows:

Love's Ecstasy, i:2–4; The Saucy Maiden, i:5–6; Love's

1. Bastian's *Zeitschrift f. Ethnologie*, vol.5 (1873), pp.270ff., especially pp.288–293.
2. Palästinischer Diwan, 1901. An interesting Egyptian parallel is printed by Erman, *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians*, pp.246–248. For convenient reference to parallels, see also Barton, pp.516–521.
3. See T.J.Meek, *Amer. Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, vol.39 (1922), pp.1–14.
4. For different arrangements of the song, see, for instance, Moulton (*The Literary Study*, pp.212–220), who thinks of the book as a lyric idyll and finds there seven divisions; and H.Creelman, *An Introduction to the Old Testament* (New York, 1917), p.302, who reduces the number of independent poems to thirteen.

Longing, i:7–8 ; The Delights of Love, i:9–17 ; Love's Consummation, ii: 1–7 ; The Springtide of Love, ii:8–14 ; Foxes in the Vineyards, ii: 15 ; Love's Dream, iii: 1–4 ; The Bridal Procession, iii:6–11 ; The Beauty of the Beloved, iv: 1–7 ; Come and Be My Bride, iv:8 ; Sweetness of the Bride, iv:9–11 ; Love's Sweet Fruitage, iv: 12–v: 1 ; Another Sweet Dream, v: 2–8 ; The Beauty of the Lover, v:9–16 ; Love's Garden, vi: 1–3 ; Beautiful beyond Compare, vi:4–9 ; Dance of the Bride, vi: 13–vii: 10 ; Love in the Fields, vii: 12–14 ; Be My Brother, viii: 1–4 ; The Power of Love, viii: 5–7 ; The Chaste Maiden, viii: 8–10 ; My Vineyard is Mine, viii: 11–12.

Poetic value. Whatever interpretation one may be inclined to accept as to the structure and meaning of this book, one recognizes here immediately simple, natural, lovely expressions of genuine feeling. The whole poem is purely lyrical—imaginative, emotional, intuitive, musical. Herder refers to it as 'a string of pearls.' The fundamental feeling expressed is that of pure passionate love, which is presented as being in accord with the beauties of nature. Some of the imagery and homely comparisons may seem a bit strange to the modern reader, but much of it, like the magnificent verses in praise of love (viii:6–7), is incomparably beautiful.

THE LAMENTATIONS OF JEREMIAH

The attribution of this book to the great seventh-century prophet seems to be almost as unjustifiable as the connection of the name of Solomon with the books of Proverbs, the Song of Songs, and Ecclesiastes. The five poems of the book are not all the work of a single author and it is not easy to believe that Jeremiah was the author of any one of them. Chapters ii and iv probably belong close to 586 B.C. ; number one seems to be

somewhat later; three is later still; and five is uncertain.[1] The whole book is a lamentation over the fall of Jerusalem accompanied by a prayer for help from Jehovah. The first four poems are alphabetical acrostics, elegies, and the fifth poem is a prayer for deliverance from distress.[2]

THE BOOK OF JOB

General statement. The Book of Job is generally admitted to be the greatest single book of the Bible and one of the enduring works of world literature. Theologians and laymen, Jew and Gentile, alike unite in its praise. Throughout the centuries of the Christian Era, from the time of Philo Judaeus to that of Martin Luther, and, for that matter, throughout the Modern Age, it has stood out as a significant document of Hebrew and Christian religions; in the form of a seventeenth-century translation into English, the King James Version, it endures as a monument of noble English style. Carlyle called the book 'one of the grandest things ever written with a pen. One feels indeed,' continues he, 'as if it were not Hebrew; such a noble universality . . . reigns in it. A noble book; all men's book. It is our first, oldest statement of the never-ending problem — man's destiny and God's way with him here in this earth.'

Froude, the historian, speaks of it as 'an extraordinary book . . . which will one day, perhaps, when it is allowed to stand on its own merits, be seen towering up alone, far away above all the poetry of the world.' And even the untrained reader, as he scans the impressive passages in which speaks the aged Eliphaz, or the suffering Job, or the all-powerful Jehovah, must feel that he is here in the presence of lofty poetic expression of deep thought and intense emotion.

1. See in this connection Oesterley and Robinson, *Introduction*, p.317.
2. For a full exposition of the metrical forms of the first four chapters and of the fifth, which differs from those preceding, see Gray, *Forms of Hebrew Poetry*, pp.87–120.

To the student of world literature, the book reveals itself as one of universal interest. It takes a high place among those writings of the peoples of the world which may be classed as literature of revolt or disillusion. The earliest in point of time of such writings from other literatures than the Hebrew, at least the earliest to which the attention of Biblical students has been directed, is the so-called 'Babylonian Job.' The parts of this poem that have been preserved and also a fragment of a somewhat similar poem in the Sumerian language are printed by Barton in his *Archaeology and the Bible*, pp.491–496, where comment is made on similarities and dissimilarities. From other literatures, ancient and modern, have been indicated, by one scholar or another, such works as Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound*, Sophocles' *Oedipus Coloneus*, the *Sayings of Menander*, the Arabian dialogues between Abu Zaid and Al Harith in the *Makamat* or *Assemblies* (12th cent. A.D. ?), Byron's *Manfred* and *Cain*, Goethe's *Faust*, Calderon's *The Mighty Magician*, Mark Twain's *The Mysterious Stranger*, Andreyev's *Anathema*, W.H.White's *The Deliverance of Mark Rutherford*, and that modern adaptation of the story of Job to contemporary conditions, H.G.Wells' *The Undying Fire*. Of all such writings which in theme or in treatment suggest a comparison with Job, the most interesting is unquestionably the *Prometheus Bound*, the resemblances and differences between which and the Biblical poem have been often commented on by students of comparative literature.[1]

The Wisdom Writings. In Hebrew literature, itself, the Book of Job takes its rightful place with the Proverbs and Ecclesiastes from the Old Testament and with similar writings

1. See, for instance, John Owen, *The Five Great Skeptical Dramas of History* (London, 1896), Chapter II, pp.107–167 ; N.Schmidt, *The Messages of the Poets*, pp.87–89 ; A.J.Culler, *Creative Religious Literature*, pp.297, 298,303–304,306 ; and Morris Jastrow, Jr., *The Book of Job*, pp.185–188.

from non-canonical literature, as a part of 'wisdom literature' or the work of the 'wise men' of Israel.[1] These 'wise men' were the successors of the prophets of Israel. They have been called the humanists of Israel. Their interest was in human life. They addressed themselves to the individual, not to the community or nation. They taught the right art of living. 'The general characteristic of this literature,' says Rankin,[2] 'is the recognition of man's moral responsibility, of his religious individuality, and of God's interest in the individual life.' So these wise men taught rules of conduct and also religious precepts. They discussed, say Oesterley and Robinson,[3] 'the relationship between a man and his God, between parents and children, man and wife, friend and foe, rich and poor, high and low. . . .' Wisdom, as these wise men taught, is the gift of God. They speculated about wisdom itself. The personification of wisdom is a recurrent phenomenon in these writings.

The Problem of the Book of Job. The great problem that is discussed in the Book of Job is that of human suffering. In-

1. The following list of writings of the 'wise men' is printed by O.S.Rankin in his *Israel's Wisdom Literature* (Edinburgh, 1936), p.1,n.

 Book of Proverbs; Book of Job; Qoheleth, i.e., Ecclesiastes (250–200 B.C.); The Wisdom Psalms (i,xixb,xxxii:8–11,xxxiv:12–23,xxxvii, xlix,lxxiii,xciv:8f.,cxi,cxii,cxix,cxxvii,cxxviii,cxxxiii); The Wisdom of Jesus Sirach (200–*c.*180 B.C.); The Book of Tobit (*c.*170 B.C.), especially iv:13f., xii:6–11, xiv:9f.; 1 Esdras, iii:1–iv:63 (*c.*100 B.C.); The Letter of Aristeas, paras. 187–294 (*c.*40 B.C.); The Wisdom of Solomon (*c.*30 B.C.); 4 Maccabees (*c.* A.D. 30); The Book of Baruch, iii:9–iv:4 (after A.D. 70); Pirqe Aboth (Sayings of the Fathers, from 150 B.C. to 250 A.D.); the didactic poem of 250 hexameters of Pseudo-Phocylides (150 B.C.–A.D. 70).

 The affinities between these Jewish writings and similar writings in Babylonian literatures are discussed by Walter Baumgartner in his *Israel.u. altorient.Weisheit*, 1933 (Sammlung Gemeinständlicher Vorträge, etc., vol.166).

2. Op.cit., p.3. On the Wisdom literature, see in addition to Rankin, Oesterley and Robinson, *An Introduction*, etc., pp.150–165; Bewer, *The Literature of the Old Testament*, pp.308–339.

3. Op.cit., pp.160,161.

volved in the discussion is the problem of retribution. The broadest implications of this problem are suggested by the words of Socrates which Plato quotes in the Apology: 'No evil can happen to a good man, either in life or after death.' In Ecclesiasticus (xxxiii: 1), we also read, 'There shall no evil happen unto him that feareth the Lord.' Why do the righteous suffer and the wicked seemingly prosper? Is the suffering that man endures due to his own guilt? Ought a pious man to accept without question suffering the cause of which he cannot understand? How is the individual to regard the attitude of Jehovah towards the individual or towards mankind in this matter of worldly prosperity or suffering or of the justice or the injustice with which rewards or punishment seem to be meted out?

The Structure and contents. The book is a mixture of prose narrative and verse dialogue. The main outline of the contents is as follows:

1 Prologue – prose narrative – Chapters i and ii
2 Colloquies or Symposium – Chapters iii–xlii: 6
 (a) The initial cry or lament of Job which introduces the discussion – Chapter iii
 (b) Three cycles of speeches by Job and his 'friends,' the third cycle being incomplete – Chapters iv–xxxi
 (c) The speech of Elihu – Chapters xxxii–xxxvii
 (d) The speech of Jehovah – Chapters xxxviii–xli (Including Job's first reply to Jehovah – Chapter xl: 3–5)
 (e) The final reply of Job – Chapter xlii: 1–6
3 Epilogue – prose narrative – Chapter xlii: 7–17
 (a) The conclusion to the discussion – vv. 7–10
 (b) The conclusion to the story of the Prologue – vv. 11–17

In Chapters i and ii and in xlii: 11–17, we seem to have the beginning and end of a folk-tale which related the story of a pious man who was subjected to severe tests, remained throughout faithful and patient, and was rewarded in the end with worldly prosperity. The hero of the story is Job; the deity who, certain as to his uprightness, allows him to be afflicted and who rewards him at the close is Jehovah, the God of Israel; the adversary or *advocatus diaboli* who doubts the integrity and loyalty of Job if he were subjected to affliction and who, having lost his wager, disappears from the book at the end of the second chapter is the Satan; the wife of Job appears for a moment only to emphasize by contrast the loyalty of the hero; the three friends, Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar, appear in the role of comforters of the hero in his suffering, as do the members of his family and other friends (Chapter xlii).

Between the first part of this tale and the concluding part, there lies a lengthy discussion in the form of dialogues between on the one side this afflicted man and, on the other side, the three men who appear in the role of comforters in the prose tale, a young man named Elihu, and Jehovah himself.

The discussion centres, as has already been said, about the doctrine of retribution. In Chapter iii, Job utters his initial lament and question, repeated in the succeeding chapters—lament that he was born and question as to the reason for the existence of a man in distress. Then follows a series of dialogues—three cycles of speeches there would seem to have been—between Job and the three 'friends,' Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar. The first two cycles are complete. The third cycle opens properly with a speech by Eliphaz and a reply by Job, and, in the form in which the book has come down to us, presents next a meaningless speech by Bildad (Chapter xxv), which is followed by what purports to be Job's reply, a suc-

cession of speeches which are of general import, and omits altogether a speech by Zophar and a reply by Job. A reconstruction of this third cycle of speeches has been more than once attempted.[1] Enough to indicate here that Chapter xxiv: 2–24 and Chapter xxviii seem to be independent poems which have been interpolated in this section; and that Chapters xxix to xxxi, including Job's great defence in the last of these chapters, were seemingly added to the main book by another hand than that of the original poet.

After a brief prose interlude, a fourth speaker is introduced, the young man Elihu. In Chapters xxxii–xxxvii, Elihu, who is represented as dissatisfied with the answer which the older men had been able to give to Job's complaint, presents his interpretation of the great subject under discussion. He seems to have been especially disturbed by Job's self-righteous attitude in Chapter xxxi, and much of his discourse is directed towards a condemnation of Job for having asserted his independence and his righteousness before Jehovah, in whose absolute jurisdiction are the works of nature and the lives of all men. This lengthy speech of Elihu, with its likewise lengthy prologue, seems to add little to the discussion. It is generally regarded as an addition to the original book.

There follow immediately after Elihu's discourses, Chapters xxxviii–xli, in which Jehovah presents before Job a picture of the greatness of God as manifested in the creation of the world and in the ordering of the phenomena of nature. This is the only answer which could satisfy the questionings of Job. Thereafter, the complaining, resisting sufferer realizes that having now stood face to face with God he can no longer question divine justice and that he must hereafter possess his soul in patience. This declaration of Jehovah, which had so great an

1. See, for instance, Jastrow, *The Book of Job*, pp.285ff., and H.M.Kallen, *The Book of Job as a Greek Tragedy Restored* (New York, 1918), pp.82, 83,130–145.

influence over Job, concluded originally, scholars like to think, with the fourteenth verse of Chapter xl, for at that point ends the magnificent poetic utterance of the epiphany. Job replies to this speech in the first six verses of the forty-second chapter.

The prose narrative of Chapters i and ii is resumed in Chapter xlii, verse seven. Here we have first an epilogue to the poetic colloquies which began with Chapter iii, and second (vv.11–17) an epilogue to the prose narrative of the first two chapters.

Interpretation. No book of the Bible, probably not even the book of the Revelation, has been subjected to a more thorough examination as to its origin, structure, and meaning than has the Book of Job. The diverse elements, the seeming inconsistencies or contradictions, the opposing points of view have been recognized by all students, and agreement either as to details or as to the whole has by no means yet been reached. Some scholars still cling to the position that the book as a whole, barring certain obvious exceptions, is a literary unit; others hold just as strongly, or even more strongly, to the theory that, like so many other books of the Old Testament, the book is a composite product. The difficulty of harmonizing the prose prologue and the prose epilogue with the poetic colloquies is very great. The story of the test of Job's uprightness with its successful outcome and subsequent reward, as told in the first two chapters and the last chapter, seems to represent an independent popular folk-tale and to proceed from a different intellectual atmosphere from that of the discussion which intervenes. As has been pointed out, the characters of the two main divisions are very different. The Job, the Deity, the three 'friends' of the prose narrative are entirely different persons from those of the discussion. The Satan of the great temptation scene dis-

appears before the close of the second chapter. Certain additions to or interpolations in the original book have also been pretty generally recognized: e.g., the wisdom poem in Chapter xxviii and the Elihu speeches in Chapters xxxii to xxxvii; and, by most scholars, also Chapter xxiv: 2–24, Chapter xxx: 2–8, and Chapters xxxix: 13–18, xl: 15–24, and xli. And, finally, the confusion in what has been called the third cycle of speeches, Chapters xxv–xxxi, is most disturbing to the reader who, for instance, tries to find a consistent understandable Job in this section.

It may suffice here to refer to the following three theories as illustrative of the various opinions as to the nature and meaning of the book: Professor Genung calls the Book of Job the 'Epic of the Inner Life,' on the basis that here we have 'the heroic spiritual achievements, as we may truly call them, of Job in his tremendous encounter with the mysterious dealings of God and the mistaken judgments of his friends.' Dr. Kallen holds that Job is 'a Hebraized form of the Greek tragedy of Euripides, with which may be the beginning and end of the legend or novel on which the drama was based attached to it. Prologue, *agon*, messenger, choruses, epiphany, epilogue, they are all evident with just those differences from the Greek that may be expected from the difference in tradition and background between the two authors.' In his elaborate study of the Book of Job, Professor Jastrow concludes that the book is a series of discussions of a vital problem gradually taking shape under many angles – orthodox and unorthodox. The discussion is similar to the Greek Symposium. According to Professor Jastrow's theory, we have (1) the Folk-tale of the Prologue and Epilogue, to which have been attached two series of speeches, a third series, a chapter on the search for wisdom (Chapter xxviii), and the supplemental speeches of Job

(Chapters xxix–xxxi) ; (2) the speeches of Elihu (Chapters xxxii–xxxvii) ; and (3) the speech of Yahweh (Chapters xxxviii–xli).

The last of these theories, even though one may hesitate to accept in its entirety the detailed complicated analysis, seems to present a reasonably sensible interpretation of the book as a whole and an impressive picture of the absolute and relative beauty and power of this philosophical lyric poem.

Authorship and date. The Book of Job, like many other books of the Bible, is anonymous. The only definite statement that may be made is that the 'author' of the book in its final form was a Hebrew thinker or 'wise man' who lived in a period of advanced literary culture. The approximate date of the completed product, however early one should be inclined to place the folk-tale of the prose narrative, is post-exilic, probably the fifth or the fourth century B.C. The interest in the specific dating of the poem, at least, seems a minor matter in the light of its universal appeal.

THE PROVERBS

General statement. The Proverbs is to be classed with the Book of Job and Ecclesiastes as a book of wisdom. Its literary form is that of didactic or gnomic poetry. It consists in the main of words of wisdom or instructions for the right conduct of the individual in the details of daily life. The book is on a lower plane of both content and literary form than the Book of Job, a contemplative discussion of a great problem of human experience, or than Ecclesiastes, a philosophical essay on the meaning of life. The book represents the contribution of the Hebrew people to a great body of world literature to which all ages of history have contributed. Interesting parallels have been discovered in Babylonian and Egyptian literatures; e.g.,

the Babylonian Proverbs from the Library of Ashurbanipal, Precepts from the Library of Ashurbanipal, the Precepts or Proverbs of Ptahhotep, the Instruction for King Merikere, and the Proverbs of Amenope, the last mentioned being regarded as an important actual source for parts of the Book of Proverbs.[1] Most striking are the resemblances between Proverbs and the uncanonical book of Ecclesiasticus (e.g., Chapters xxvi, xxx, xxxi: 25ff., xl: 15–xliii). From other literatures, ancient and modern, similar writings of a didactic or gnomic import present more or less close resemblances to the Proverbs; such as, the *Sayings of Epictetus*, the *Meditations of Marcus Aurelius*, the *Imitation of Christ* by Thomas à Kempis, Pascal's *Pensées*, Benjamin Franklin's *Poor Richard's Almanac*.

Contents and structure. Proverbs is a compilation of independent 'words of wisdom' and of collections of proverbs. Underlying the whole book are three main divisions of subject matter — moral precepts, religious thought, praise of wisdom. Behind what seems to be the utilitarian, practical, unidealistic teaching of 'right conduct as the best means of getting on in the world' or 'of honesty as the best policy,' lies the ultimate basis of all life and living, Jehovah's moral goodness and his control of the world of men and things. So man is not to be good solely because it pays to be good but because it is right for the children of Jehovah to act in accordance with what would seem to be the will of the moral ruler of the world.

The book shows several clearly defined sections: (1) Chapter i: 1–6, General Introduction; (2) Chapters i: 7–ix: 18, Praise of Wisdom, words of instruction and personification of Wisdom, in the form not only of small detached units of

1. See Barton, pp.506–515; Erman, pp.54–66 and 75–84; T. Eric Peet, *A Comparative Study of the Literatures of Egypt, Palestine and Mesopotamia*, pp.99–114; and, in general, W.O.E.Oesterley, *The Wisdom of Egypt and the Old Testament*, London, 1927.

thought, extending mainly over two lines, but also of larger developed units in which aspects of the general subjects are discussed; (3) Chapters x: 1–xxii: 16, the Proverbs of Solomon, typical proverbs, showing great regularity in the use of the two-line unit with its parallelism of thought and structure; (4) Chapters xxii: 17–xxiv: 22, Sayings of the Wise, a series of instructions, addressed to an individual, the four-line unit being the prevailing structural form; (5) Chapter xxiv: 23–34, a supplement to the preceding section; (6) Chapters xxv–xxix, a second division, entitled Proverbs of Solomon, generally considered to apply to a different state of society and to belong with Chapters i to ix to a later date than do Chapters x to xxii: 16, and the couplet being again the prevailing form; (7) Chapter xxx, the Words of Agur, consisting of nine groups of wise sayings; (8) Chapter xxxi: 2–9, the instructions of a mother to the king; and (9) Chapter xxxi: 10–31, an alphabetic poem (in the original), in couplets, praising a virtuous (admirable, good, ideal) woman.

Authorship and date. The book was ascribed to Solomon, probably through the influence of the verses in 1 Kings iv: 29–34, in which the wisdom of the king is praised: 'And God gave Solomon wisdom and understanding exceeding much . . . For he was wiser than all men . . . And he spake three thousand proverbs.' Some of the sayings of the wise in this book may go back to the period of the monarchy and for some of these words Solomon may have been responsible, but the book was no doubt formed gradually and as a whole belongs to a much later period, probably as late as 300 B.C. So, we know nothing about the authors, and only so much about the period or periods of composition – that the period in which the book took final shape is late post-exilic.

THE ESSAY

ECCLESIASTES

General statement. Ecclesiastes is a strange book and it has had an eventful history. It is difficult to regard the work as a literary unit and to ascribe its philosophy to a single individual. The teaching is not consistently orthodox. But the book finally won a place for itself among the sacred writings of the Jews. The custodians and the interpreters of these writings, however, have had much trouble of spirit in accepting, in justifying, and in explaining the book, and they have been hard put to it to pierce the mystery of the independent thinker who was responsible for the original unorthodox book (if there was an older book other than that which we have today) or of the much later earnest orthodox believer (if such a person really took upon himself the difficult task) who attempted to harmonize the disturbing ideas and observations of an original 'free thinker' with the accepted traditional beliefs as to the ways of man and God in the world. And the result of all this concentration, throughout the ages, of critical intelligence on this book leaves the reader still in the region of uncertainty and conflicting opinion. But — and this is the one great thing to hold fast to — the book remains not only as a monument of late Hebrew philosophic thought, but also as a lasting contribution to the history of man's speculation about the mystery of human life. Confusing and inconsistent and incoherent as the words of the book may seem to one or another reader to be, Ecclesiastes yet remains as a powerful presentation and a beautiful expression in words of the problem of existence.

Title, author, date. The title of the book, Ecclesiastes, first attached to it by the translators of the Septuagint, represents an interpretation of the Hebrew title, Qoheleth, and seems to

mean a member of an assembly, and thus arose the alternative title, 'the preacher.' According to the first verse of the first chapter, this preacher was no other than Solomon, the son of David. The real Solomon, however, could not have been responsible for this book; and as no other name presents itself for consideration, the authorship must remain in anonymity. The time of composition is likewise uncertain, whether the book as it now stands is regarded as an original literary unit or as a later working-over of an earlier unified book. The date of final composition is placed between 300 and 200 B.C. If an original 'book of wisdom' is to be hypothesized, the time of composition for such a treatise would have to be pushed back a century or more.[1]

Contents. The book consists of meditations on the meaning of life. There are three main kinds of material: (1) An exposition of the vanity (emptiness, futility, transitoriness) of life and its practical consequences; (2) notes enforcing ordinary religious views; and (3) proverbs of a purely general character such as might have found a place in the Book of Proverbs.[2] This material, presented in a form which seems to be unsystematic, inconsistent, disconnected, falls into several fairly unified divisions:[3]

1 Chapters i and ii. The vanity of human life. Life is to be enjoyed as much as possible.

2 Chapters iii–vi. Definite appointment of times for all things in life. All things are determined by God, and it is idle to speculate on the injustices in human life.

1. An interesting theory as to the original 'Ecclesiastes' is presented by F.C.Burkitt in *The Journal of Theological Studies*, vol.23, (1922), pp. 22–26.
2. See W.H.Bennett, *A Biblical Introduction – Old Testament*, p.164.
3. For analyses of contents and for discussions of the philosophy of the book, see especially Bennett, pp.164–166, Driver, pp.467–476, Macdonald, pp. 197–215, and Oesterley and Robinson, *An Introduction*, pp.210–215.

3 Chapters vii–viii: 15. Commendation of moderation in all things, as the result of the exercise of 'wisdom,' preceded by a group of proverbs.

4 Chapters viii: 16–ix: 16. The uselessness of wisdom in a world in which everything happens by chance and in which all alike come to the same end.

5 Chapters ix: 17–x: 20. A collection of proverbs.

6 Chapters xi–xii: 8. The necessity of labour in spite of the uncertainty of results, and the wisdom of making the most of youth.

7 Chapter xii: 9–14. Epilogue, praising the work of the preacher, admonishing against the too much study, and declaring that man's main duty is to fear God.

Interpretation. All discussions of the meaning of the book recognize the seeming inconsistency of its teaching. Starting from this fundamental position, critics have made various attempts to account for the strange nature of this treatise. Three main theories may be briefly indicated here:

1 That the discussion presents two conflicting points of view, somewhat similar to Tennyson's 'Two Voices.'

2 That the author of the book attempts to harmonize various disturbing opinions as to the unsatisfactory conditions of human experience with the recognition of God's supreme righteous control over the lives of men and the world in which they live.[1]

3 That the book as it now stands represents a working-over of an original unorthodox text in order to bring it into conformity with Hebrew traditional orthodox philosophy, the additions to the original text taking the form of illustrations of the traditional Solomon as the pious and God-fearing king, of illustrations of Solomon as the wise king, and of

1. This view is admirably presented by Macdonald.

observations designed to take the edge off of Koheleth's cynicism.[1]

The underlying philosophy of the book as a whole has been well epitomized by Driver: 'In spite of the disconnected character of some of the author's utterances, the general tone and drift of his meditations is unmistakable. Life under all its aspects is dissatisfying and disappointing: the best that can be done with it is to enjoy – not indeed in excess, but in a wise and well-considered moderation, and as a gift intended by God to be enjoyed – such pleasures as it brings with it.'[2] The author was not a pessimist; he was not a hedonist; he was to a certain extent a cynic. In the face of the transitoriness or emptiness of life, of the gloomy outlook of the age, of the incomprehensibility of the ways of the ruler of the universe, he retains his belief in God. Man must adjust himself to the order of the universe. He must conform to the caprice of the divine ruler. Things are in a perpetual flux. But behind this round of events is God. Man's only salvation from the terror of the world is in the joy of doing work. Life has no gain, but God has given life to man and therefore he must live it. Wisdom will direct him as he eats and drinks and enjoys good.[3]

So much for an attempt to summarize the general philosophic outlook of the book as a literary unit. The general nature of the work, no matter what the different views as to its composition may be, is clear. In its final form,[4] the book takes its place as one of the three great Old Testament 'books of wis-

1. This theory has been ably presented by Morris Jastrow, Jr., *A Gentle Cynic*, pp.71–76,116–119. As illustrations of some of these possible additions, see Chapters II:3 and 26; III:11,14,17; V:6; VII:1,18b,29; VIII:11–13; XI:9; XII:13 and 14.
2. *An Introduction*, p.470.
3. This brief summary represents gleanings from the comments of Biblical scholars.
4. Professor Jastrow presents on pp.201–240 of his *A Gentle Cynic* an interesting reconstruction of what he regards as the original book.

dom'; and as an example of the literature of self-revelation in which is most strongly expressed the element of disillusion. The book is not unworthy to be placed beside the works of such writers of self-revelation as Marcus Aurelius, Sir Thomas Browne, and Pascal. The oldest literary parallel that has been suggested is a passage from the famous Epic of Gilgamesh, Tablet X. Scholars have discussed pro and con the possible influence of Greek philosophy, especially of Epicurus, the Stoics, Heraclitus, Hesiod (Words and Days), the general consensus being against any direct influence.[1] Similarities have also been recognized in Lucretius (*On the Nature of Things*), in the writings of Leopardi, and in the *Rubaiyat* of Omar Khayyám.[2] But, until definite proof may be forthcoming as to specific influences from other literatures, the book may best be regarded as an independent Hebrew contribution to philosophic thought.

1. See, for instance, E.H.Plumptre, *Ecclesiastes* (Cambridge, 1895), p.32, being a part of his excellent Introduction, pp.15–101; Harry Ranston, *Ecclesiastes and The Early Greek Wisdom Literature* (London [1925]), p.149; in addition to Bennett, p.162 and Driver, p.476.
2. On Leopardi (and others) see Orlo Williams in *Cornhill Magazine*, vol. 62 (1927), pp.446–461.

THE APOCRYPHA

INTRODUCTION

GENERAL STATEMENT. Between the Old Testament and the New Testament of the King James Version of 1611, there were printed fourteen books or writings which since the period of the Reformation have been definitely classed as the Apocrypha of the Old Testament. The titles are as follows: 1 *Esdras*, 2 *Esdras*, *Tobit*, *Judith*, *The Rest of the Chapters of the Book of Esther*, *The Wisdom of Solomon*, *The Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach, or Ecclesiasticus*, *Baruch* (including as Chapter vi, *The Epistle of Jeremy*), *The Song of the Three Holy Children*, *The History of Susanna*, *The History of the Destruction of Bel and the Dragon* (the last three being additions to the book of Daniel), *The Prayer of Manasses*, *The First Book of the Maccabees*, and *The Second Book of the Maccabees*.[1]

These books have had an eventful history, some details of which may here be presented. With none of the Christian

1. For the sake of simplicity and clearness, the designation 'Apocrypha' is applied in this discussion to the list of books of the King James Version. The best collection of other writings connected with Old Testament literature which may be called non-canonical or apocryphal or pseudepigraphical is that of volume two of Dr. Charles' work entitled *Pseudepigrapha*. Reference may properly be made here also to the apocryphal writings which are connected with the New Testament, but which, it should be said, have never received the official sanction of any branch of the Christian church nor deserve the recognition as significant works of literature which has been given, in part at least, to the Old Testament Apocrypha. The most important of these Gospels, Acts, Epistles, and Revelations are printed by M.R.James in his *The Apocryphal New Testament*, Oxford, 1924.

churches do they stand quite on the same plane as the other books of the Bible, the canonical scriptures of the Old and the New Testaments. In the Bibles of the Protestant churches of America, these apocryphal books do not appear. According to the Westminster Confession (Presbyterian Church, 1690), these books are not 'to be otherwise approved or made use of than other human writings.' They are recognized by the Church of England as worthy of study, for as we read in Article VI (after the enumeration of the 38 books of the Old Testament, Lamentations not being reckoned as a separate book): 'And the other books (as Hierome [Bishop Jerome, at the close of the 4th century A.D.] saith) the Church doth read for example of life and instruction in manners; but yet doth it not apply them to establish any doctrine.' The translators of the Genevan Bible (English Calvinistic, 1560), in their prefatory note to the Apocrypha, speak of these writings as 'books which were not received by a common consent to bee read and expounded publikely in the church, neither yet served to prove any point of Christian religion, save in as much as they had the consent of the other Scriptures called Canonicall to confirme the same, or rather whereupon they were grounded: but as bookes proceeding from godly men, were received to be read for the advancement and furtherance of the knowledge of the history, for the instruction of godly maners, etc.' The Prayer of Manasses is omitted. Save for 1 and 2 Esdras (designated as 3 and 4 Esdras in the Roman Catholic Bible) and The Prayer of Manasses, these three books being presented in fine print after the New Testament, the writings of the Apocrypha were declared canonical by the Council of Trent (1546), which pronounced an anathema on the man who did not accept these books: 'Si quis autem Libros ipsos integros cum omnibus suis partibus, prout in Ecclesia Catholica legi consueverent, et in veteri vulgata Latina

editione habentur, pro sacris, et canonicis non susceperit, et traditiones praedictas sciens, et prudens contempserit, anathema sit.' The decision of the Council of Trent, it may be said, was based mainly on the lists of Canonical writings which were approved at the Council of Hippo (A.D. 393) and the Council of Carthage (A.D. 397). This declaration came at the end of the long period of the Middle Ages, during which there was considerable disagreement as to which of the writings (which existed of course only in manuscript and collections of which were not entirely uniform) should be regarded as Canonical, and shortly after the first printed vernacular translations of the Bible, such as the Luther Bible in German (1534), and the Coverdale Bible in English (1535), which placed the writings of the Apocrypha on a lower plane than the canonical scriptures. Luther translated all of the apocryphal books except 1 and 2 Esdras, which he said, 'contain absolutely nothing which one could not much more easily find in Aesop or in even more trivial books.' (English translation in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica* from the Erlangen ed. 63/103f.) As to the other books, Luther declared in his prefatory note to the Apocrypha, 'das sind Bücher/so der heiligen Schrifft nicht gleich gehalten/und doch nützlich und gut zu lesen sind.' A like opinion is expressed by Coverdale in the first printed complete English translation of the Bible (1535). The Apocrypha are 'the bokes and treatises which amonge the fathers of olde are not rekened to be of like authorite with the other bokes of the byble, nether are they found in the Canon of the Hebrue.' As to Baruch, Coverdale declares: 'Unto these also belongeth Baruc, whom we have set amonge the prophetes next unto Jeremy, because he was his scrybe, and in his time.' He excludes The Song of the Three Children because he found it only in the old Latin text; and he does not translate The Prayer of Manasses.

For the next earlier complete English Bible, we must go back over a period of two centuries to John Wycliffe and the Middle Ages. Wycliffe's translation (1384–1395) was based entirely on the Latin Vulgate, and therefore included, as we might expect, the writings of the Apocrypha, which were generally accepted by the church. According to the General Prologue to the Wycliffe Bible (Oxford edition, 1850), the translators did not include the third and fourth books of Esdras (King James, 1 and 2 Esdras). An early translation of the third book had, however, been made, as we find it in the 1850 edition, based on Bodleian MS. 277.

We pass over now a long bridge of nine centuries or more and arrive at the time of the great Latin translation of Bishop Jerome (end of 4th century). Influenced in part, says Oesterley, by his sojourn in Palestine, where he learned Hebrew, Jerome formed a notable exception to the fathers of the Western Church in not accepting as authoritative those writings of the Septuagint (the Greek translation of the Hebrew scriptures made in the last three centuries B.C.), which were added to the books which we find now in the Hebrew Bible. The Greek Bible as we now have it was accepted as scripture by the Christian church of the first and second centuries after Christ. Although the different manuscripts of the Septuagint show slight differences, the oldest manuscripts, dating from the fourth century A.D., are in general agreement in containing all of the books of the Hebrew Bible and almost all of the Apocrypha which are found in the King James Version. The two notable exceptions are 2 Esdras and The Prayer of Manasses. By the fourth century, the Eastern church did not recognize the books of the Apocrypha as canonical (Council of Laodicea, A.D. 360); the Western church, on the other hand, made in the main no distinction between the books of the Hebrew Bible and the writings which were added when the

translation into Greek was made. So Jerome stood pretty much alone in regarding these added books of the Septuagint as 'apocryphal.' In two only of these books was Jerome enough interested to make a fresh translation from the Hebrew, Tobit and Judith, and these were done very hurriedly.

Jerome may be said to stand on the side of the Protestant reformers of the sixteenth century and of Protestant churches of today and of the Jewish church since the first century A.D. The books of the Apocrypha were never recognized as forming a part of the Holy Scriptures of the Jewish church, though many of them were doubtless read for purposes of edification. These writings were definitely excluded from the Hebrew Bible when the canon was established at the close of the century. The Greek Bible, says Oesterley, 'was the Bible of the Jews of the Dispersion and there is no reason to doubt that it was also used by the Greek-speaking Jews of Palestine. After the fall of Jerusalem (A.D. 70), the attitude of Jewish religious leaders towards the Greek Bible changed. The rift between Jewish and Christian communities had become pronounced. The Greek Bible as the Bible of Christians was a reason for it to be looked on with disfavour. Many books contained in the Septuagint were regarded as unworthy of being included in the Jewish canon.'[1] And so, for reasons which may not be entirely known to us today, the 'additional writings' of the Septuagint were set apart from the sacred writings of the Hebrew Bible. And these are the books which are today known as the Apocrypha of the Protestant Church and as the deutero-canonical part of the scriptures of the Roman Catholic Church.

Origin of the Apocrypha. These writings which are now generally known as 'apocryphal' belong in the main to the

1. Condensed from *An Introduction to the Books of the Apocrypha*, pp.122, 123.

Greek period of Jewish history, 320 B.C. to 63 B.C. They were definitely connected with the Septuagint, the Greek translation of the Hebrew Scriptures which was made in Egypt during the last three centuries B.C. Some of the apocryphal writings probably go over to the first century A.D. These writings were added to the Septuagint from time to time. No one collection of these Bible writings in Greek was regarded as canonical, although the oldest manuscripts that have been preserved (4th century A.D.) do contain practically all of our Apocrypha. Of these books, 1 Esdras is probably the earliest, dating from the third century B.C., and 2 Esdras is probably the latest, dating from the first century A.D.[1] In selecting his material for volume one of his great work on the apocryphal writings of the Old Testament, Dr. Charles limits his text to Jewish apocryphal writings between 200 B.C. and A.D.120, his second volume, entitled *Pseudepigrapha*, comprising books written between 300 B.C. and A.D. 120 under the names of ancient worthies in Israel. It is to be observed that Dr. Charles excludes from his first volume 2 Esdras, since, as he says, it is clearly a Pseudepigraph. It is not extant in Greek. He also adds 3 Maccabees, since it is contained in many MSS. of the Septuagint.

As to the languages in which these books were originally written, there is also much difference of opinion among scholars, but not quite so much uncertainty as about the specific dates. On the basis of the most recent critical study, the following conclusion is tentatively presented: Of the fifteen books of the King James Apocrypha, counting now The Epistle of Jeremy as a separate work, three only were with

1. It does not seem possible to assign definite dates for these writings. Even after many years of critical investigation Biblical scholars differ, often considerably, as to times of writing of most of the books. An attempt is made here to assign the approximate dates which are in accord with the general consensus of those best qualified to speak.

certainty written originally in Greek; five may have been written in Greek, but probably in Hebrew; and the remaining seven (at least the bulk of them) may reasonably be assigned to Hebrew originals. It seems, then, that the opinion so long held to the effect that most of the writings of the Apocrypha were done originally in Greek must be discarded.

Less is known about the authors of these books than even, with the exception of the Prophetic Writings, about the individuals who were responsible for the canonical books of the Old Testament. Fairly definite information as to authorship is available in the case of but one book—Ecclesiasticus. In the Prologues to this work, we learn about both original author and translator-interpreter, grandson and son of the family of Sira (Gr. Sirach).

Use of the word 'Apocrypha.' So far in this summarizing discussion, the word 'Apocrypha' has been accepted without question as an authoritative title for these writings. A brief explanation of its meaning and use may now be added. The word 'apocrypha,' meaning 'hidden' was used first with respect to books which contained special tenets or teachings not to be disclosed to ordinary people, either because of their supposed sacredness or of the desirability of retaining their secret wisdom within an inner circle of believers. Origen (*c.* A.D. 186–*c.* 254) used the term in reference to what we know as the pseudepigraphic books, distinguishing between such books and the books read during public worship. These books called pseudepigraphic generally bore the name of a patriarch, prophet, or even apostle, purporting to be the author. So the term 'apocryphal' which was applied to them took on an unfavourable meaning. Jerome distinguishes between *libri canonici* and *libri ecclesiastici*, the latter referring to the books

of our Apocrypha. Jerome was the first to use the word 'apocryphal' in this new sense and such usage gradually became general.

Nature of the writings. These books are almost as varied in their contents as are the canonical writings of the Old Testament themselves. History is represented well by 1 Maccabees and imperfectly by 1 Esdras and 2 Maccabees; didactic literature, by The Wisdom of Solomon and Ecclesiasticus; fiction or legendary narrative, by Tobit, Judith, the additions to Esther, and the additions to Daniel; prophecy by Baruch; visions, by 2 Esdras.

THE BOOKS OF THE APOCRYPHA

1 *Esdras.* With the exception of Chapters iii–iv: 1–41, this book is a somewhat free version of Biblical history from Josiah's Passover (2 Chron. xxxv) to the Reading of the Law by Ezra (Neh. viii). It duplicates to a certain extent, then, the material of 2 Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah and was highly regarded by the Greek and Latin fathers. The unfavourable judgment of the Church, says Paul Volz (*Ency. Bibl.*, col. 1489) is due to Jerome. The same scholar makes the following pertinent comment on its historical value: 'As it stands, the compilation bears the impress of the genuine Jewish spirit, which, without any feeling for history, writes stories for the honor and glory of Judaism, and regards the kings of the alien world-powers purely as instruments for bringing to realization the greatness of Israel' (*Ency. Bibl.*, col. 1492). The original language for the bulk of the book was probably Hebrew or Aramaic; the date of the original after 333 B.C. and of the translation probably early second century. Of literary value, is only the famous Truth-Story, Chapters iii–iv: 1–41.

2 *Esdras.* There are three definite sections of this book—Chapters i and ii, Chapters iii–xiv (the 'Ezra Apocalypse'), and Chapters xv–xvi. The reader of the critical literature may be easily confused by the different designations that are used in discussions of the Ezra books. The complete possibilities are indicated in the following arrangement (Charles ii: 542) :

1 Esdras = Ezra-Nehemiah of the Canon
2 Esdras = 2 Esdras, Chapters i and ii of the King James Apocrypha (4 Esdras, Chapters i and ii of the Vulgate)
3 Esdras = 1 Esdras (3 Esdras of the Vulgate)
4 Esdras = 2 Esdras, Chapters iii–xiv (4 Esdras, Chapters iii–xiv, of the Vulgate)
5 Esdras = 2 Esdras, Chapters xv–xvi (4 Esdras, Chapters xv–xvi of the Vulgate)

The book as we now have it in the King James Apocrypha is evidently the work of a redactor who published the work about the middle of the second century A.D. Oesterley would date the last two chapters as late as A.D. 240–270. The bulk of the book was composed originally in Hebrew. The interesting part of the book is the apocalypse, Chapters iii–xiv, in which are presented seven visions : iii: 1–v: 13 ; v: 14–vi: 34 ; vi: 35–ix: 25 ; ix: 26–x: 59 ; xi: 1–xii: 39 ; xii: 40–xiii: 58 ; and xiv: 1–48. Two illustrative passages from the complete book are the conversation between Uriel and Esdras, Chapter iv, and praise of the omniscience and omnipotence of the Lord, Chapter xvi.

Tobit. Regarded as a literary product, this book may be said to be the most interesting of the Old Testament Apocrypha. The influence of the book is shown in Jewish writings, in the New Testament, in the early church, and in medieval art. Luther's comment, as quoted by Charles (i: 174), is interesting : 'Is it history ? Then is it a holy history. Is it fiction ? Then is it

a truly beautiful, wholesome, and profitable fiction, the performance of a gifted poet.' With the latter part of this judgment, modern students of the book are in accord. It is an original unified literary composition, in which the author has in the main brought into harmony the varied material of his sources. It is a folk-tale, an edifying household tale, which emphasizes strict observance of the Law, the practice of charitable deeds, and piety. Five general sources of the material are indicated by Charles (i: 187–194) : (1) The Tractate of Khons, (2) The Fable of the Grateful Dead, (3) The Story and Wisdom of Ahikar (See Charles ii), (4) The Old Testament and the Apocrypha, and (5) Persian ideas and customs. The place of composition is Egypt. The date is certainly before 175 B.C. The book was no doubt written originally in Hebrew.[1]

Judith. On an equally high literary plane, although it is by no means so complex an artistic product as Tobit, and of great influence on art and literature through the centuries, is the book of Judith. The first seven chapters are introductory to the Judith story, which extends from Chapter viii to xvi. It is fiction, although the conditions therein presented are parallel with those of the Maccabean era. The purpose of the book, which was probably written in Hebrew by a Palestinian Jew for Jewish readers, is to show how God protects his people against their enemies. The approximate date is the second century B.C., probably about the middle of the century.

Esther, the Rest of the Chapters of the Book of. These additions to the canonical book of Esther consists of six passages which fall into two divisions: (1) Hebraistic pieces, intended probably to supply the lack of religious sentiment, or to explain

1. A mine of information about this book is open to serious students in Professor W. Erbt's scholarly article in the *Ency.Bibl.*, col.5110–5129.

difficulties (e.g., Mordecai's refusal to prostrate himself before Haman) — the dream of Mardocheus (x and xi), the prayer of Mardocheus (xiii:8–17), the prayer of Esther (xiv), the expansion of the first interview between Esther and the King (xv); and (2) pieces written in the Greek rhetorical style — the first letter of Artaxerxes (xiii) and the second letter of Artaxerxes (xvi). These additions constitute parts of the mass of floating legendary material which in the course of years gathered about the name of Esther. The book was written originally in Greek late in the second century or early in the first century B.C.

The Wisdom of Solomon. This book has been regarded by Christian scholars as the most important book of the Apocrypha. In it are united Jewish religion and Greek philosophy. The book appears to have been written, says Professor Toy (*Ency.Bibl.*,col.5336), to console and instruct the Jews, and to warn their enemies, in a time of severe trial. There are two parts to the book: (1) The part played by Wisdom in human life, and (2) illustrations of her power taken from the ancient history of Israel, a digression on idolatry interrupting the narrative.[1] Charles (i:518) distinguishes three sections: (1) A book of eschatology, Chapters i–vi:8; (2) a panegyric on wisdom, Chapters vi:9–xi:1; and (3) historical retrospect, broken by the digression on idolatry, Chapters xi:2–xix. The author was an Egyptian Jew, the original language is Alexandrian Greek, and the date is probably the first half of the Christian era, though some scholars date it as early as the first or second century B.C. Oesterley (pp.207–209) thinks that the absent ruler to the worship of whom mention is made must refer to Caligula, who in A.D. 40 proclaimed himself a god, and that the book must be dated shortly thereafter. Two illustrative

1. Professor Toy's entire article in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica* should be read.

passages are: The Future Reward of the Righteous, Chapter iii, and The Praise of Wisdom and the Prayer of the Author unto God, Chapters vi: 12–ix.

Ecclesiasticus. More significant and more interesting even than The Wisdom of Solomon, for students of the Apocrypha as a part of English literature, is the only book of this collection of writings to which the name of a real author is attached, an author whom we may call Ben-Sira. The grandfather wrote the book originally in Hebrew, probably 200–175 B.C., and the grandson translated the book into Greek probably between 132–116 B.C. The title 'Ecclesiasticus' was given to it in the Latin Vulgate, earlier titles being 'The wisdom of Jesus the son of Sirach,' 'the Wisdom of Bar Sira,' 'the Book of Sirach.' The author lived in Jerusalem but he travelled widely and observed closely. He evidently came into contact with all sorts and conditions of men. In his book, we find a great mass of moral maxims and wise counsels about the problems which confront men in their daily lives. Thus this treatise is a part of wisdom literature as represented by Proverbs and Job and Ecclesiastes. The theological teachings of the book may be indicated as follows (Charles, i: 303–314): (1) The Doctrine of God – the unity of God, discovered in all of his works, and the eternity of God; (2) the Law – observance of the Law, which is identified with wisdom, as the prime duty of the people; (3) Wisdom – the divine nature of wisdom and also the practical nature of wisdom in affairs of life; (4) Sin – several theories as to the origin of sin: that it is not from God, that it is from woman, that it is of man's own making; (5) Future-life doctrine, resembling the normal teaching of the Psalms, that death is the end of all things. Illustrations of the variety of material in the book are: The Prologues; Praise of Friendship, Chapter vi: 7–17; Exhortations in Praise of Wis-

dom, Chapter vi: 18–37 and Chapter xxiv; Proverbs, Chapters viii and xix; Training of a Child, Chapter xxx: 1–13; Words of Wisdom, Chapters xxxi–xxxiii; The Significance of Manual Labour, Chapter xxxviii: 25–34; Praise of Famous Men, Introduction, Chapter xliv: 1–15.

Baruch (including The Epistle of Jeremy, Chapter vi). The book of Baruch (Chapters i–v) is of the nature of prophetic writing which has a fictitious historical setting. The events of the years preceding the exile seem to have been used to set forth the tragedy of the Jewish people after A.D. 70. There are three distinct literary elements: (1) A prose document, Chapters i–iii: 8; (2) a poetical piece of wisdom literature, Chapters iii: 9–iv: 4; and (3) a document of exhortation and comfort, Chapters iv: 5–v: 9. The whole book may have been written originally in Hebrew, certainly the first two parts. It attained its final form shortly after A.D. 70. To the Epistle of Jeremy (Chapter vi), an exhortation against idolatry, the date of 306 B.C. has been assigned; the original language was Hebrew; the translation into Greek may have been as late as the middle of the second century B.C.

The Song of the Three Holy Children. This addition to the book of Daniel consists of three parts: (1) The Prayer of Azariah, vv.1–22; (2) a narrative portion, vv.23–28; and (3) the Hymn itself, vv.29–68. The date of the original composition in Hebrew was after 168 B.C.

The History of Susanna. The second of the three additions to Daniel was composed in Hebrew in the early part of the first century B.C., and was translated into Greek probably before the Christian era. It is a folk-tale, a parable designed to teach the importance of the cross-examination of witnesses.

It is a product of the controversy between the Pharisees and the Sadducees in the early part of the first century B.C. Our chief interest in the story today is in the effectiveness of the narration and in the appeal which it has made through the ages to creative artists in literature and art.

Bel and the Dragon. This third addition to Daniel consists of two separate stories: (1) The Story of Bel, vv.1–22; and (2) The Story of the Dragon, vv.23–42. The piece is designed to illustrate the folly of idolatry and to set forth the doctrine of the oneness and absoluteness of God. Scholars differ as to the original language of the work and also as to the connection of the dragon story with the Marduk-Tiamat tradition. It may be dated about 100 B.C.

The Prayer of Manasses. This short penitential psalm consists of an invocation of the Deity, a confession of sin, and an entreaty for forgiveness. Its author was a Jew, the original language was probably Greek, and the date, the second or third century B.C. It is not contained in any Latin MS. earlier than the 13th century, and so we find it relegated to the appendix in the Latin vulgate.

1 *Maccabees.* This is an important historical document, dealing with the Jewish struggle for religious freedom and for independence under the Maccabees (175–135 B.C.). The book deserves a high place in Jewish literature for its historical, its religious, and its literary characteristics. Torrey (*Ency.Bibl.*, col.2861 and 2866) says that in its original form it was a fine specimen of Hebrew prose and that as historical writing it compares favourably with the best Greek and Roman histories. The original language was Hebrew; the author was a devout patriotic Jew, who lived in Palestine and

was probably a Sadducee; the date was probably not before 100 B.C., though there is some difference of opinion among scholars. Illustrative specimens are the Covenant between the Romans and the Jews, Chapter viii, and The Struggle under the leadership of Jonathan, Chapters xi–xii.

2 *Maccabees.* This book is not, as the title might suggest, a continuation of 1 Maccabees, although it does deal with a part of its history. It is a condensation of an earlier Maccabean history in five books by one Jason of Cyrene. The period covered is brief, from about 175 to 161 B.C., the story thus being in the main parallel to 1 Macc., Chapters i–vii. Prefixed to the history, are two letters purporting to have been sent by the Jews in Palestine to the Jews in Egypt (Chapters i: 1–ii: 18). As a historical document, this book does not take high rank. The author's love of the miraculous and the supernatural is well illustrated by Chapters iii; v: 2,3; x: 29,30; and xi: 8–10. The original language was Greek; the author was an Alexandrian Jew of the general Pharisaic tendency; the date of the epitomist, near the close of the first century B.C., and of Jason's history, maybe a century earlier. Characteristic passages are Chapters v–vi, The Persecution of the Jews, and Chapters xiii–xv, The Victorious Work of Judas.

THE NEW TESTAMENT

INTRODUCTION

CONTENTS. The books of the New Testament are twenty-seven in number, appearing in the King James Version in the following order: The Four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles (twenty-one), and Revelation. These books may be further classified as:

The Synoptic Gospels—Mark, Matthew, and Luke
The Gospel according to St. John
The Acts of the Apostles
The Letters of Paul: The four great epistles—Romans, Galatians, 1 and 2 Corinthians—indubitably by Paul; 1 Thessalonians, Philippians, Colossians, and Philemon, about which there is hardly less doubt as to Pauline authorship; Ephesians and 2 Thessalonians, about which there is less certainty
The Pastoral Epistles: 1 and 2 Timothy and Titus
The Epistles General or Catholic Epistles: James, Jude, 1 and 2 Peter, 1, 2, and 3 John
The Epistle to the Hebrews
The Revelation

According to their literary characteristics, they may be grouped as (1) Historical—Biographical Narrative, the Synoptic Gospels; (2) Doctrinal—Biographical Narrative, The Fourth Gospel (Gospel according to St. John); (3) Biographical—Historical Narrative, The Acts; (4) Epistles (or letters); and (5) Vision (or Apocalypse), The Revelation.

Process of collecting into one volume. The process of collecting into one volume, to be known later as the New Testament, the separate writings of the Christian church was somewhat analogous to the way in which the writings of the Hebrews were brought together to form their 'scriptures,' to be known later as the Old Testament. This sacred book of the Jews, or Hebrews, was the only Bible of the new religious sect during the first century of the Christian era. The formation of the New Testament, which was later to supplement the Old Testament and thus complete the Bible of Christianity, was gradual. The teachings of Jesus, the founder of the new religion, were no doubt transmitted orally from one group of Christians to another, either during the lifetime of Jesus himself or in the years following his death. As we may infer or learn from the Gospels themselves or from other records of the first and second centuries A.D., the desirability of preserving the account of the teachings and deeds of Christ was realized, and thus we have finally brought together in the Gospels what the authors regarded as the main events in the life of Jesus and the significant principles of his religious teaching. These Gospels, in one form or another, were read aloud in the church and thus may be said to constitute the first addition of the Christian religion to the writings of the Old Testament. Supplementing these biographies of the founder of Christianity is the story, as recorded in what was later called The Acts of the Apostles, of the work of the apostles in spreading the new faith from Palestine to Asia Minor, Macedonia, Greece, and Italy. These writings were the latest of the books to be accepted as a part of the Christian scriptures. There were also in existence in the second half of the first century A.D., the letters which were written by Paul and other leaders of the new movement to the churches that had been established or to individuals connected with them. These letters, contain-

ing as they do along with personal notes ethical and doctrinal teachings, were also read in the churches and thus in the course of time came to be accepted as an important part of the Christian scriptures. The Revelation of St. John the Divine, through its supposed connection with the apostle of that name and also probably through its greater effectiveness, was the only one of the many Christian apocalypses to find a place in the New Testament. There were many other writings of the first two centuries similar to these four groups which we find today in our New Testament – gospels, acts, epistles, and apocalypses.[1] The selection of sacred writings which was made by the early Christian church may therefore be said to have been somewhat arbitrary, but, as we realize today, as we examine the writings of these kinds which have been preserved, the church succeeded in bringing together and finally canonizing the most valuable of these books as religious and literary documents.

Not however till about the end of the second century was there a decisive movement toward a definite authoritative selection of Christian writings. By that time, all of the writings of the New Testament were in existence, but the limits of the Christian Bible were not strictly defined. These writings existed as separate papyrus rolls. Different collections of these rolls would be in the possession of the different churches. But the New Testament as a book did not exist. With Irenaeus [d. *c.* A.D. 202], Christians began to call these books 'scriptures,' just as they did the Jewish books. The several separate books had for long been spoken of as the books of the New Covenant. The alternative word for covenant, 'testament,' was used because when the writings were translated from Greek into Latin, it was assumed that the word 'covenant' meant

1. See list of Apocryphal, Pseudepigraphical, and Extra-Canonical Books of the New Testament, Appendix B.

'will' or 'testament.' God had drawn up two 'testaments,' the latter superseding the first. The first man who is known to have called the collection the New Testament is probably an unknown writer of A.D. 192. Tertullian (d. *c.* A.D. 230) also used the term 'the New Testament.'[1] The impetus toward a definite decision as to the books that should be definitely accepted as scripture came from Marcion, the great heretic of the second century. Marcion held that Christianity was a new revelation, that the work of Christ revealed the true God, and that the Old Testament must be abandoned and replaced by a Christian Bible. The Canon of Marcion (*c.* A.D. 140) comprises the Gospel of Luke and ten Epistles of Paul. Although his idea was not accepted by the church, the alarming progress of the Marcion heresy and of other heresies of the second century furthered the idea of putting the authentic Christian writings in permanent form.[2] From about A.D. 200, dates the very interesting Muratorian Fragment, which gives a list of books representing the usage at Rome at that time. All of the books of our New Testament appear except 3 John, Hebrews, 1 and 2 Peter, and James, and added are Wisdom of Solomon, Revelation of John, Revelation of Peter, and, with a reservation, The Shepherd of Hermas.[3] But it was not till A.D. 367, that a final form of the New Testament was definitely established. In that year, Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria, issued his famous Easter letter (Festal Letter 39) in which he enumerated the books as we now have them. This declaration by Athanasius received official recognition by the church at the Council of Trent (1546) when these 27 books of the New Testament were declared scripture along with the books of the Old Testament as

1. See Goodspeed, *The Formation*, p.78 and H.S.Miller, *General Biblical Introduction*, p.140.
2. Scott, p.288.
3. Goodspeed, p.188.

they appeared in the Latin Vulgate of Jerome, but with the addition of the Apocryphal writings.

Preservation of the writings. The printed editions of the New Testament are based mainly on the Uncial Greek manuscripts of the fourth to the sixth century A.D., in number about 170. Of these the three great ones are (1) Codex Sinaiticus, fourth century (British Museum), (2) Codex Vaticanus, fourth century (Vatican Library), and (3) Codex Alexandrinus, fifth century (British Museum). Of varying importance and interest are the Minuscule manuscripts, dating from the fourth to the tenth century, numbering close to 3000; the Papyrus fragments, of which the most important is the Chester Beatty Papyri, dating from the second or third to the sixth or seventh century; and Lectionaries, Ostraka, and Inscriptions.

Language. The original language of the New Testament was Greek. To this dogmatic statement, certain possible exceptions should be recognized: that the first three Gospels have Aramaic documents behind them, that this may also be true of the earlier part of the Book of Acts, and that there are peculiarities in the style and grammar of the Book of Revelation which would seem to indicate translations from Aramaic, or perhaps from Hebrew.[1] Most biblical scholars do not accept the theory of Greek translation of whole books of the New Testament from Aramaic.

Place of writing, authorship, and date. As to the place of origin of these writings, little is definitely known. Some of Paul's Epistles may be specifically placed. The Gospel of Mark

1. Scott, p.4.

was probably written in Rome, the Gospel of Matthew possibly in Antioch, the Gospels of Luke and John possibly in Ephesus. Not even so much of probability or possibility may be suggested for the other writings, and so the only interest is that of speculation. As to time of composition, reasonable limits are A.D. 50 to A.D. 150. Between these two dates, most Biblical scholars would find approximately definite times of composition for most of the writings. Different suggestions for the dates of composition of the individual books will be referred to in the specific discussions which follow hereafter. As to authorship, little more is known than about the place and date of composition. Of the fifteen or more 'authors,' Paul is the only clearly outlined figure with a definite personality and there is even much uncertainty as to the writings which definitely belong to him. To Luke, the physician, are ascribed, but not unanimously, the Gospel of Luke and the Book of the Acts. The author of the Fourth Gospel and of the three Epistles which bear the name of John was probably the same — but who was he? To John Mark, belongs it seems, the Second Gospel. Matthew is but a name. Great uncertainty prevails as to the identity of 1 and 2 Peter, James, Jude, and the author of the Revelation.

Literary value of the material. A consideration of the literary value of the New Testament suggests at once a comparison with the writings of the Old Testament. The contrast between these two parts of the Bible is most striking. The Old Testament is the literature of a people, a race; the New Testament is the writings of a religious group or sect. The Old Testament is a book of literature, having for its provinces the history, the religion, the ideas and emotions of the Hebrew people; the New Testament is a book of religion, which deals at times with human relations and relates events of history, but

presents and interprets this material in the light of its main aim — which is to set forth the significance of this new religion. The Old Testament writings are concerned in the main with showing the hand of God in history; the New Testament writings, with showing the hand of God in establishing a religion which is to save the world through the intercession of Jesus Christ. Old Testament literature deals with the problems of life, of man in relation to God, to his fellows, and to the world in which he lives. In its highest reaches, in its sublime poetry and exalted prose, it is imaginative, creative, universal. New Testament literature treats the one problem of the meaning of the Christian religion as evidenced in the foundation, the development, the teachings of the church which has been set up on earth for the salvation of man from sin. It is informative, didactic, polemical, practical, occasional, immediate. The medium, as befitting its underlying purpose, is prose. It rises to the level of great literature in such works as The Gospel of Luke, the Book of Revelation, and in moments of expression of deep emotion in the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles — where, to use the admirable phrasing of H.T.Fowler with respect to 1 Thessalonians, we find 'felicitous expression (1) of exalted feeling or (2) of significant thought interpreting the perennial realities of life in terms universally comprehensible.'[1]

The four forms in which the literature of the New Testament appears are: (1) the four narratives — biographical, historical, theological — of the life and work and teachings of Christ; (2) the narrative — historical and biographical — of the work of the apostles in establishing the Church; (3) letters (epistles) — personal, pastoral, doctrinal — dealing with the work of the founders of Christianity and with the doctrines of Jesus; and (4) a vision (apocalypse, revelation) of the

1. *The History and Literature of the New Testament* (New York, 1930), p.132.

reign of Christ in heaven. Interesting general points of resemblance only may be indicated between these writings of the New Testament and some of the books of the Hebrew Bible. Mark, Matthew, Luke, Acts, and John may be looked upon as the Pentateuch of the New Testament, with John representing the Deuteronomic book in relation to the others; the Epistles are comparable in some respects with the Prophets; Revelation is a counterpart of Daniel; and there is also a New Testament Apocrypha which partly approximates the Apocrypha of the Old Testament.[1] The specific kinds of literature which are comprised in these writings are history, legend, narrative, biography, short story, letters, sermons, orations, parables, doctrinal treatises, and vision.[2]

Almost all of this body of writings is in prose. Exceptions are various fragments, such as the five hymns embedded in Luke (Ave Maria, i:28, Magnificat, i:46–55, Benedictus, i:68–79, Gloria in Excelsis, ii:14, Nunc Dimittis, ii:29–32); Matthew xi:28–30; 1 Corinthians xiii; Ephesians v:14; 1 Timothy iii:16; 2 Timothy ii:11–13; Revelation v:12, vii:10 and 12, xii:10–12, xv:3,4, and xix:5; and the many quotations from the poetry of the Old Testament, such as Matthew ii:6, iii:3, iv:15,16, and xii:18–21; Luke iii:4–6; Acts viii:32, 33, xxviii:26,27; Romans iii:10–18; Hebrews i:7–13, ii:6–8; and 1 Peter i:24,25a. The prose of the New Testament is often of a very high order. A good deal of it approaches the rhythm of poetry in its parallelisms of thought and struc-

1. See I.F.Wood and Elihu Grant, *The Bible as Literature* (New York, 1914), pp.227,228.
2. Illustrations of these kinds of writings are: history (Acts of the Apostles), legend (marvellous events attached to what would otherwise appear to be genuine history; e.g., the Story of Sceva, Acts xix:13–16 and the Story of Eutychus, Acts xx:9–12), narrative (the Gospels and the Acts), biography (Luke), short story (the healing at the pool of Bethesda, John v:2–9), letters (Philemon), sermons (Matthew vi–vii), orations or speeches (Acts xvii:22–31), parables (Matthew xxv:1–14), doctrinal treatises (Romans), vision (Revelation).

ture, in its cadences, and in its accent. Strength of conviction, intensity of belief, fervour of feeling are revealed in prose of great power and beauty. Simplicity, clarity, conciseness, harmony, rhythmic flow, homely figurative expression, sincerity and earnestness, and a great fundamental theme are the characteristics which elevate much of these writings above the plane of simple narrative or doctrinal exposition to the height of perfect style of its kind and into the realm of literature of universal significance. Such are, to mention some of the notable parts, the whole of the book of Luke, the book of Revelation almost in its entirety despite the incomprehensibility of many of the details of this great work of the imagination, the Gospel according to St. John, Chapters xiv–xvi; Acts xvii: 22–31 and xxvi: 2–29; Romans viii and xi: 33–xii; 1 Thessalonians; and 2 Corinthians xi–xiii.

THE GOSPELS

General statement. The four Gospels of the New Testament are those of Mark, Matthew, Luke, and John. The first three are called the 'synoptic' gospels, the word 'synoptic' meaning a 'viewing together' and thus suggesting that if placed side by side or looked at together, these writings would show many resemblances, along of course with some variations. The fourth gospel is so different from the others that it may not be viewed in this way. The word 'gospel' means 'good news' and in this sense, as applied to the message of redemption in Jesus Christ, it is used many times in the New Testament writings. The narratives of our Gospels were regarded as accounts of the gospel. So we have, for instance, the Gospel according to Mark. The word was first given to a written account of the life of Christ in the time of Marcion (*c.* A.D. 140).[1]

1. See W.F.Adeney, *A Biblical Introduction – The New Testament*, pp.278 and 278,n.2.

These four narratives were finally chosen as authentic or canonical from the many so-called gospels of the first and second centuries A.D. They were regarded as of apostolic authority.[1]

In all of these gospels, the primary purpose is practical, not historical or even biographical. The aim is to set forth the fundamental principles of the Christian belief. Four different points of view are represented. Mark stresses the miraculous power of the Messiah and attempts to show that Jesus is the Son of God; Matthew, the fulfilment of the prophecy of the Old Testament in Jesus the true Messiah; Luke, the humanness of Jesus, the saviour of all mankind; John, the world significance of the religion founded by Jesus. The first three gospels, the 'synoptics,' show decided resemblances in a common plan, in the use of the same incidents and scenes, and in the actual words that are used; the fourth gospel, John, is an independent late treatment of the same subject, and it is controversial, doctrinal, theological. It is the most important of the gospels as a book of religion, of Christianity; it is the least significant as a book of literature.

The literary form of the gospels is unique. It is somewhat analogous to that of such ancient writings as Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, Plato's *Apology*, Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, Tacitus' *Life of Agricola*, Plutarch's *Lives*. The gospels are not, strictly speaking, biography, or reminiscences, or memories, or even what might be called biographical studies. They are concerned primarily with an idea or principle or belief rather than with a man, the Gospel of John being farthest removed from what we should call a 'life' and the Gospel of Luke approaching nearest to what we may look upon as a modern biography. Of especial interest in its analogy to

1. For lists of and for comment on the other gospels, most of which were probably late apocryphal works, see Adeney, p.278 and Martin Dibelius, *A Fresh Approach*, pp.72–95.

the first three gospels at least, is Xenophon's *Memorabilia.* It is the attempt of a lover of Socrates to justify him to the world. Xenophon writes from personal knowledge and from evidence that he has collected. He repeats the words of Socrates in his dialogues with various people and his words of wisdom in the form of addresses. He comments on the character of Socrates, lays stress on his ideal character, dwells on his outlook on his death, and at the close eulogizes him.[1]

Most scholars still hold to the long-prevailing opinion that the four gospels were written originally in Greek, although they allow for the use of Aramaic source materials by Mark.[2] The extreme opposite view is presented most forcibly by C.C. Torrey, who declares[3] that the gospels were written entirely in Aramaic, save for the first two chapters in Luke, which were

1. Critical studies of Xenophon's *Memorabilia* also present striking analogies with similar studies of the four gospels and, for that matter, of other New Testament writings. In the Introduction to his translation of *The Works of Xenophon* (London, 1897, vol.3.p.xix), Mr.H.G.Dakyns presents a situation which seems to be closely comparable to the state of confusion, uncertainty, acceptance and rejection which prevails today among the New Testament critics: The work [*the Memorabilia*] 'presents at first sight many "anomalies," much unevenness of style and diction, incoherencies here and there, abruptness in the piecing together of topics; and in the fourth book especially puzzling reduplications of topics previously handled. It will be readily admitted that the author himself may frequently have rehandled such a work during his leisure and in process of composition, adding and subtracting before the final compilation. But . . . is there reason to believe that the work . . . has been rehandled by some later editor. . . ?'

 It is not surprising if 'at the present moment a reactionary movement [in the higher criticism] should have commenced . . . From the point of view of a still more recent school of criticism, not only is much in Xenophon (whether whole works or parts of works) which had grown to be suspected, delivered from the stigma, but the very grounds of suspicion are turned to account as of infinite importance for a more exact appreciation of the character of the writing, the circumstances under which it was written, and, above all, the mental and spiritual peculiarities of the author himself.'
2. See especially A.C.Cadoux, *The Sources of the Second Gospel*, who argues for an Aramaic source for the section ii:1–iii:6.
3. *Our Translated Gospels*, p.ix.

composed in Hebrew. Professor Torrey holds also an extreme view with respect to the dates of composition of the gospels,[1] saying that there is not 'even *one* passage [in any of the four gospels] giving clear evidence of a date later than 50 A.D. or of origin outside Palestine.' The gospels are all anonymous; that is, we do not know with certainty who the authors were. The author of Mark, or at least a part of it, may have been the John Mark, who was closely associated with Peter and Paul. The author of Matthew is unknown. The author of Luke is generally admitted to be Luke the physician (Col. iv: 14). The author of John may have been the Apostle John, though this ascription of authorship is not accepted by all scholars. The dates and places of composition are tentatively given as follows: Mark, after A.D. 70, Rome (?) ; Matthew, between A.D. 70 and 130, Antioch (?) ; Luke, possibly before A.D. 70 but likely between A.D. 100 and 110, place unknown ; John, near close of first century, place unknown. Mark was the earliest of the four gospels, followed by Matthew and Luke, who used Mark and other sources but did not know the writings of each other, followed by John, who depended on the synoptic tradition for his facts, but did not borrow all of his material from the synoptic gospels.

MARK

The priority of this Gospel is undisputed. It represents for us the first attempt to tell the story out of the traditions — oral or written — of the deeds and words of Christ. The most important bit of evidence that has come down to us is the following passage from Eusebius (d. *c.* A.D. 340) who quotes from Papias (Bishop of Hierapolis, 1st half 2d century) : 'And the Presbyter [Aristion] used to say this, "Mark became Peter's interpreter and wrote accurately all that he remembered, not, in-

1. Op.cit., p.x.

deed, in order, of the things said or done by the Lord. For he had not heard the Lord, nor had he followed him, but later on, as I said, followed Peter, who used to give teaching as necessity demanded but not making, as it were, an arrangement of the Lord's oracles, so that Mark did nothing wrong in thus writing down single points as he remembered them. For to one thing he gave attention, to leave out nothing of what he had heard and to make no false statements in them."'[1] Despite what may be the implication of this statement, Mark gives a connected story of the general course of the life of Jesus, according to the following plan: (1) Introduction, (2) early ministry in Galilee, (3) later Galilean ministry, (4) events indefinitely placed, (5) journey to Jericho and Jerusalem, (6) teachings in Jerusalem, (7) apocalyptic address, and (8) the arrest, trial, crucifixion, and resurrection – the concluding verses 9–20 constituting an addition to the original book.

Various sources have been suggested for Mark's Gospel: reminiscences of Peter; 'Q,' for German 'quelle,' meaning sources (the sayings of Jesus, Logia, which in one form or another seem to have been used by Matthew and Luke);[2] and the Ur-Marcus. In agreement with other scholars, A.J. Cadoux[3] abandons the Ur-Marcus theory, thinks that Mark did not use 'Q,' and then advances much farther in declaring that Mark had three written sources and three only: (A) An Aramaic document, a Palestinian Gospel, illustrated by Chapters ii:1–iii:6; (B) a Greek document, a Gospel of the Dispersion, illustrated by Chapters v:1–vi:6; and (C) a Gentile Gospel, represented by Chapter vii. The style is characterized by students of the Greek text as graphic, concrete, vivid, dramatic, colloquial, and even rough. Mark has a fond-

1. *Eccles.Hist.*, 3.39 (Loeb Ed. i, p.297).
2. For an attempt to reconstruct the sayings of Jesus, see H.Weinel and C.H.Moehlman, *The Sayings of Jesus*, Rochester, N.Y., 1936.
3. *The Sources of the Second Gospel*, pp.20ff.

ness for double negatives and for the historical present, he enlarges on unessential details, and he dwells at length on miracles.

MATTHEW

From Eusebius again, quoting Papias, we have the first statement about Matthew: '"Matthew collected the oracles in the Hebrew language, and each interpreted them as best he could."'[1] But this statement of Papias is not to be taken as referring necessarily to the Gospel of Matthew. The sources of the Gospel seem to be three: Mark (substance of about 606 verses, in Matthew about 500), 'Q,' 250 verses, and M (matter peculiar to Matthew), 300.[2] Matthew is the most important of the four gospels, a fundamental document of the Christian religion. Renan[3] calls it 'le livre le plus important qui ait jamais été écrit.' The importance of this Gospel Professor Scott finds in the following characteristics: The arrangement made it suitable for purposes of instruction; it is the fullest and most succinct account of the teachings of Jesus; it is the most comprehensive Gospel and has a catholicity of outlook; it is ecclesiastical.[4] Matthew, say Wood and Grant (p.238), may be called the New Old Testament. It gathers up the ethical results and the religious idealism of the old covenant and sees them crowned in the one whom Mark called the Son of God. The outline of the material is as follows: Preparation, beginning of ministry, sermon on the mount, ministry at Capernaum and by the Lake, retirement to remote districts, east of Jordan, last days in Jerusalem, passion, death, and resurrection.[5] As to style, scholars report that Matthew's style is He-

1. *Eccles.Hist.*, 3.39 (Loeb Ed. i, p.297).
2. See E.B.Redlich, *The Student's Introduction to the Synoptic Gospels* (London, 1936), pp.15ff.
3. *Lés Evangiles*, Calmann-Lévy, Éditeurs, Paris, 1877, p.212.
4. *Literature of the New Testament*, pp.65 and 66.
5. In the outlining of the contents of this book as of other books in the New

braic, that his vocabulary is limited, that he has no feeling for sentence structure, that he is more succinct than Mark and is a more careful writer, that his work is characterized by simplicity and rapidity of movement, and that he gains greatly in having his hero speak for himself.

LUKE

This book is universally accepted as the most literary of the gospels and as a companion book to the Acts of the Apostles, a work by the same author. The sources of Luke were Mark, 320 verses, 'Q,' 250 verses, and L (matter peculiar to him), 580 verses. His treatment of Mark was freer than that of Matthew. His object was to write a biography. His material to a certain extent was similar to that used by Mark and Matthew. But he was a literary artist, a gifted composer as well as editor. The result of his labour is a unified literary product. The general outline of the work is as follows: Introduction – the preface and stories of the infancy, Chapters i and ii; Galilean scenes – John the Baptist, the temptation, the ministry, Chapters iii–ix; the Perean scenes, Chapters x–xix:28; and the Judean scenes, Chapters xix:29–xxiv. There is no formal theology in the book. Stress is placed on the divine origin of the message and on the universality of the religion. Certain outstanding characteristics of the contents are the prominence of domestic scenes and of women characters, the emphasis on prayer and praise, the parables, sympathy with the poor and outcast, emphasis on the course of historical development, humanity of Jesus. The author has a strong dramatic sense and the ability to present characters in a few words. A joyous tone pervades the whole book. The narrative is easy flowing, the vocabulary wide, and the choice of incidents such as to create unity of

Testament, I have profited much from the admirably compact outlines in Adeney's *A Biblical Introduction – New Testament.*

atmosphere. The central figure of the Gospel is humanized and idealized.

To Renan the Gospel of Luke was 'le plus beau livre qu'il y ait.'[1] The 'beauty' of the book, to the French critic, lay in the spirit of the work, embodied in its central figure, idealized in words and deeds, as they are presented to us by a deeply sympathetic follower who was at the same time a conscious literary artist. The book is a masterpiece of popular biographical literature. Luke has a plain unvarnished tale to tell. He tells it directly. He uses none of the imagery of the poets and none of the subtle interpretive characterizing of the psychologist; he merely tells us what Jesus said and did and how what he said influenced his little world about him. It is fact breathed upon by the gentle spirit of a lover of the ideal of human character as incarnated in the person of Jesus.[2]

JOHN

The Gospel of John is anonymous. According to the traditional view, John, the apostle, the son of Zebedee, was the author. Other modern views are (1) that the Gospel was worked up in a literary form by one of John's disciples; (2) that the author was another John altogether, probably John the Elder; and (3) that the Gospel is a composite work. Whoever may have been the author, he was a religious thinker of the highest order. The outline of the work is as follows: Introduction, before the first Passover, Christ's work in Jerusalem, Judea, and Samaria, Jesus in Galilee, then in Jerusalem and the South Country, last days at Jerusalem, last discourse and prayer, arrest, trial, crucifixion, and resurrection. The aim of the

1. Op.cit., p.283.
2. See W.O.Sypherd, 'The Place of the Book of Luke in Literature,' in *Schelling Anniversary Papers* (New York, 1923), pp.311–318.

author is expressed at the close of the book (xx:31): 'But these are written that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing ye might have life through this name.' The date is usually given as between A.D. 95 and 115.

In an article on 'The Background of the Fourth Gospel,'[1] Dr.C.H.Dodd discusses at length certain forms of religious thought which were influential in the world to which the Fourth Gospel belongs—Rabbinic Judaism, Greek Philosophy and the Higher Paganism, Hellenistic Judaism, and Gnosticism—and concludes as follows: 'When we approach the Fourth Gospel in the light of the religious ideas of the Hellenistic environment, it is the radically Christian substance of its teaching that leaps to the eye. From the standpoint of the history of religion it is not the Logos-doctrine of the Fourth Gospel that is its new and original contribution to religious thought, and not its speculative philosophy at all; it is the announcement that the revelation of Godhead is to be sought in the words and deeds, the life and death of a person who taught in Palestine and was crucified under Pontius Pilate.'

THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES

The Acts of the Apostles, the title of which is obviously a late addition, is a sequel to Luke which carries on the story of the spread of the Christian religion under the Apostles and stresses especially the work of Peter and Paul. The author was evidently the Luke of the Gospel. The consensus of scholars places the date about A.D. 90.

The contents may be briefly outlined as follows: (1) Life of the first Christian community during the first year or at most two years after the crucifixion (i–vi:7), (2) spread of Chris-

1. *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, Manchester, vol.19, no.2 (1935), pp.329–343.

tianity through Palestine (vi:8–ix:3), (3) expansion to Antioch in Syria (ix:32–xii:23), (4) advance to Asia Minor (xii:25–xvi:4), (5) work of Paul in Macedonia and Greece (xvi:6–xix:41), (6) journey to Jerusalem, arrest, imprisonment, and voyage to Rome (xx–xxviii). Interesting parts of this material are the so-called 'we' sections or diary (xvi:10–17, xx:5–xxi:18, xxvii:1–xxviii:16), which are generally regarded as bits of Luke's own experience, and the speeches (xvii:22–31, xx:17–35, and xxvi:2–23), in which the speaker rises to heights of eloquence and power, speeches which were composed in the manner of Thucydides, Livy, and Tacitus, who presented what they thought their characters might have said under the circumstances. The specific purpose of the book is not entirely clear. In general, it seems to be to present a complete history of the Gentile mission of Christianity. More specifically, back of the book may have lain the following motives: (1) Desire to prove supernatural aspiration and guidance; (2) desire to show that the best Roman magistrates never decided against the Christians; (3) desire to show how the church ceased to be Jewish and became Greek.

The whole book may be called anecdotal narrative. Aside from its historical value, the book has certain outstanding literary qualities: Engaging narrative—it rings true and holds one's interest; interesting episodes for their own sake, often showing dramatic force; powerful, fervid speeches; excellent narrative-description. Renan calls the book 'a new Homer' because of the epic qualities, its conception and literary style.[1]

THE EPISTLES

General statement. Of the twenty-one Epistles of the New Testament, ten may with confidence (although even here there is some difference of opinion among scholars) be as-

1. Quoted by Culler, p.112.

cribed to the apostle Paul. They may be divided into three groups: (1) 1 Thessalonians and 2 Thessalonians; (2) 1 Corinthians and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Romans; (3) Colossians, Philemon, Ephesians (about the authorship of which is much dispute), and Philippians, the epistles of imprisonment. The authorship of the pastoral epistles — 1 Timothy, 2 Timothy, Titus — is still a matter of dispute. The consensus of scholars is against Pauline authorship, although it is generally admitted that there are passages which seem to be genuinely Pauline; e.g., 2 Timothy i:1–5 and 15–18; iv:9–21. Of the seven Epistles called General or Catholic — James, Jude, 1 Peter and 2 Peter, 1 John, 2 John, and 3 John — the authorship and dates are likewise a matter of much uncertainty. The identity of the James of the epistle is obscure; Jude is probably not the apostle Jude; the author of 1 Peter may possibly be the apostle himself; the author of 2 Peter, a working over of Jude, is certainly not the apostle; as the author of 1, 2, and 3 John, most scholars recognize the John of the Fourth Gospel. Hebrews is anonymous. Approximate dates for the epistles may be indicated as follows: 1 and 2 Thessalonians, A.D. 53; 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, and Romans, A.D. 57 and 58; Colossians, Ephesians, Philemon, Philippians, A.D. 62 and 63; 1 and 2 Timothy and Titus, A.D. 65 — or for all of these 13 Epistles, between A.D. 50 and 70; for James, either a very early date, before A.D. 50, or a very late date, about A.D. 100; for Jude, end of the first century; for 1 Peter — if by the apostle, before A.D. 66 and if not, late first century; for 2 Peter, about A.D. 150; for 1, 2, and 3 John, late first century or early second century A.D.; and for Hebrews, last quarter first century. As to places of origin, so little is known that probably nothing ought to be said. Palestine, Athens, Corinth, Ephesus, Macedonia, and Rome have been suggested as possible places of origin for one or another of the letters.

Nature of the material. The Epistles may be placed in the literary category of the 'letter.' They are of four main classes: (1) Purely personal, such as Philemon and 3 John; (2) treatises or discussions in letter form, such as 1 and 2 Thessalonians and 1 and 2 Corinthians; (3) pastoral letters, such as 1 Timothy; and (4) discourses which are letters in title only, such as 1 John, James, and Hebrews (save for the concluding verses). These epistles connect themselves naturally with similar remains of epistolary literature not only from the time of the Apostles but from preceding and succeeding ages. Specific reference may be made to the letters of Epicurus, of Seneca, of the younger Pliny, of Ignatius, of Polycarp, of Clement of Rome, and to the letter of Barnabas.

The Letters of Paul

The letters of Paul which have been preserved date from the second period of his activity, that of his mission to Asia Minor, Macedonia, and Achaia, and thus after A.D. 48 or 49. These epistles are the earliest documents of the Christian religion; they are for the most part real letters, in form and in spirit, not intended for the kind of publication which they have obtained since his death; through the elevation of thought and feeling and through the art of the writer, unconscious though it may be, they rise above the level of personal, occasional, practical writings to the height of literature.

1 *Thessalonians.* This letter was written from either Athens or Corinth about A.D. 50 and is probably the earliest of Paul's epistles. The contents are as follows: salutation, words of thanksgiving and appreciation, remarks about his ministry and personal reminiscences, exhortation toward Christian living, explanation of the state of the dead and of the second coming, final exhortation, and benediction.

2 *Thessalonians.* This letter was written about the same time as 1 Thessalonians, resembles it much in its contents, and is more explicit about the second coming. The presence of the apocalyptic passage in this letter (Chapters i and ii) has thrown doubt on Pauline authorship, but it is generally accepted as genuine.

1 *Corinthians.* This letter was written from Ephesus to the church in Corinth, in order to justify his position, to set forth the meaning of the Gospel, and to direct his followers towards right living. The letter is important historically, theologically, and practically.[1] It is memorable, specifically, for the passage on immortality (xv), for the account of the Last Supper (xi), for the account of the Resurrection (xv), and for the praise of ' charity ' (xiii). The word ' charity ' as used by Paul meant love with a moral and intellectual quality and so ' Christian love ' would probably be better than the ' love ' of the Revised Version. Unquestionably, a certain rhythmic poetic effect is lost with the giving up of the word ' charity.'

2 *Corinthians.* It is pointed out by scholars that this letter is not a unit of composition. It may contain the substance of three letters, represented by the following sections: (1) Chapters vi: 14–vii: 1 ; (2) Chapters x–xiii, a letter of sorrowful and vehement expostulation ; (3) Chapters i–ix, with the omission of (1), an affectionate letter of thanksgiving, congratulation, and exhortation.

Galatians. This is a polemical letter occasioned by the coming of ' Judaising ' teachers to the churches. After the formal opening, Paul attempts to vindicate himself as an Apostle and tells of his early years as a Christian, presents the difference between the old and the new faith and the Christian relationship

1. See Scott, pp.133 and 134.

with God, stressing the doctrine of justification by faith, and explains the practical application of his teaching to life. The great qualities of character of Paul – vigour, courage, tenderness, earnestness, and sincerity – are here manifested in this fundamental writing of the New Testament teachings.

Romans. An equally inspired letter is Paul's famous Epistle to the Romans. Paul is writing to the church in Rome, which he had not visited, and he endeavours in a systematically developed discussion to set forth the principles of the Christian faith and the obligations and duties of Christians in the daily concerns of life. There are five main sections: (1) Chapter i: 1–15; (2) Chapters 1:16–viii, dealing with the doctrine of Christian redemption, and closing with a magnificent apostrophe and pæan; (3) Chapters ix–xi, discussing God's dealings with the Jewish people; (4) Chapters xii–xv:13, practical applications and appeal; (5) Chapter xv:14–33 and Chapter xvi:21–27, personal notes and benediction. Chapter xvi:1–20 seems to be an interpolation.

Colossians. This letter is Paul's answer to the Colossian 'heresy,' which was to the effect that faith in Christ was not sufficient by itself, but that men must enlist various angelic beings and must perform certain rites and be initiated into a secret wisdom. The gist of Paul's reply seems to be that the worship of Christ is all that is necessary, that the rites of the old ceremonial religion are only shadows of the reality which we possess in Christ, that Christ is the principle of the Logos which goes forth with God and thus is one with that eternal divine principle through which all things had come into being.[1]

Ephesians. Much doubt has been felt as to the genuineness of this letter. It was not written to the Ephesians, but probably

1. See Scott, pp.174–176.

to the Laodiceans. It is a theological tract, designed to show that the Christian church represents God's ultimate plan in his governance of the world, a plan now come to light in Christ. Thus the central note is a 'cosmical' view of Christ. The second part of the letter is devoted to practical exhortations.

Philemon. This is an entirely personal letter, full of human appeal. 'It is a pearl of the most exquisite purity in the rich treasure of the New Testament.'[1] Over against this statement may be placed, as illustrating the point of view of the objective, historical, theological critic, the words of Lake: 'It is a very short little note which has no special importance, particularly now that slavery has been abolished.'[2] As a religious document, it is of no importance; as an example of a lovely friendly letter, revealing character and personality, it is a gem of literature.

Philippians. This is an informal letter to the church in Philippi, for which Paul had a special affection, in which he sends greetings, tells of himself and of the difficulties that he has faced, urges the Philippians to endure, and introduces some of his teaching in connection with his friendly counsels and greetings, the most significant section being Chapter ii: 5–11. The letter is a fine illustration of Paul's simplicity, sincerity, and lofty idealism.

The Pastoral Epistles

The general opinion is that these epistles, at least in their present form, cannot be from Paul. In 1 Timothy, the writer warns the disciple at Ephesus against false teachers, offers directions as to worship, discusses duties of bishops and deacons, and finally offers counsel about various matters. Titus covers

1. Quoted from Sabatier by J.R.Macarthur, *Biblical Literature and Its Backgrounds* (New York, 1936), p.479.
2. *An Introduction to the New Testament*, p.150.

about the same ground. 2 Timothy is more personal. These three letters indicate the future Christian regulations for the church.

The General Epistles

James. According to tradition, the author of the Epistle of James was the brother of Jesus and first head of the church at Jerusalem. Serious objections to this authorship are indicated by scholars, who also say, however, that if the letter is not by James, they do not know who the author could have been. Critical opinions also differ as to the nature of the work, one opinion finding it to be a Jewish tract, another the work of a Greek ethical teacher. It is a tract of lofty ethical ideas. By reason of its disparagement of faith as compared with works, Luther called it 'that epistle of straw.'

Jude. This is a very brief letter-pamphlet which in the main is a warning against heresy, using as 'horrible examples' the Israelites who forsook the true God and worshiped the false gods. The author bolsters up his at times grandiloquent discourse (vv.11–13) by the ascription to 'Jude, a servant of Jesus Christ, and brother of James.'

1 *Peter.* Despite the force of both external and internal evidence, critics hesitate to ascribe this effective little letter to the Apostle Peter. In unity of theme, spiritual fervour, and expression of a fine personality, this letter ranks with the best of Paul's epistles. The theme is hope. The author exhorts Christians to live worthily of the great hope in Christ, gives specific directions for conduct in daily life, and emphasizes the responsibilities of personal Christianity at the time of the near-approach of the end.

2 *Peter*. This second epistle to which the name of Peter is attached is based largely on Jude, is greatly inferior to 1 Peter, is falsely ascribed to the apostle, and was admitted into the New Testament only after long hesitation.

1 *John*, 2 *John*, 3 *John*. These three epistles bearing the name of John are connected with the Fourth Gospel in name, style, and thought, and were written, scholars think, either by the author of that Gospel or by a person or persons of the Johannine school of thought. 1 John is a polemical tract which attacks those who deny the incarnation of the Son of God. Two themes are intertwined—belief in the Son and love of the brethren. Three tests for the Christian life are stressed: ethical conduct, belief, and brotherly love. 2 John, addressed to the 'elect lady,' and 3 John, addressed to 'Gaius,' are genuine letters and are thus to be placed in a different category from that of 1 John, but there seems to be little ground for doubting that they proceed from the same author. These two epistles have little theological but considerable historical value, in that they suggest the momentous change in church government from the primitive apostolic ministry to the episcopal system. 2 John repeats the warning of 1 John against the heresy that Christ had not really come in the flesh. 3 John is a personal note in which the writer seeks hospitality for a friend, protests against the exclusion of travelling missionaries, and warns against a domineering Christian official.

Hebrews

This is a sermon rather than a genuine letter. It is the most theological of all the writings of the New Testament. The central theme is the importance of the Christian faith in the midst of ritualistic and materialistic forms of worship. The

thought goes back to the Platonic conception that this material world is only the reflection of an ideal, spiritual world (Chapter xi). The author argues that the Son is superior to the angels, that He is superior to Moses, and that He is the true High Priest. He emphasizes the finality of the revelation through Christ, the main argument being presented in Chapters i to x, and the application of his theories to life, in Chapters xi to xiii. The type of thought is that called Alexandrianism, a blending of Judaism and the new Platonism. The author and the date and the place of writing are unknown. It may have been sent to or from Rome. It was probably written between A.D. 70 and 90. The author was not Paul. The work has been ascribed to Paul, Clement, Apollos, Barnabas, and Priscilla. Origen said that 'only God knew' who wrote it. The one well-known 'literary' passage is the unit of discourse in Chapter xi: 1 to Chapter xii: 13.

REVELATION

Here is a book of the Bible which is well nigh incomprehensible in many detailed sections but looked at as a whole and in the light of its underlying theme is a work of surpassing power and beauty. Scott refers (p.275) to the words of an old commentator: It is 'a book which either finds a man mad or leaves him so.' A different conclusion is reached by Frank Eakin.[1] 'It is a safe guess,' says he, 'that almost anyone who will try the experiment of reading the Book of Revelation through rapidly at a single sitting will be surprised at how little the obscurities and incongruities get in the way, and how powerful in its sweep the book as a whole is.' A somewhat similar experience, doubtless, many readers have had with the magnificent 90th Psalm, which must be read as a unit and preferably aloud (without being disturbed by the incoherence of the de-

1. *Getting Acquainted with the New Testament* (New York, 1927), p.319.

tails), in order to feel its greatness of conception and effectiveness of expression. Stevenson had somewhat the same idea in mind when he said about the Gospel of Matthew :[1] 'I believe it would startle and move any one if they could make a certain effort of imagination and read it [the Gospel according to St. Matthew] freshly like a book, not droningly and dully like a portion of the Bible.' The literary excellence of the book was realized by Lafcadio Hearn, who said, 'Whether one understands the meaning of this mysterious text makes very little difference ; the sonority and the beauty of its sentences, together with the tremendous character of its imagery, cannot but powerfully influence the mind and ear and thus stimulate literary taste.'[2] To use the words of William Lyon Phelps[3] about Kipling's 'The Man who would be King,' one may say that here we have truly a 'masterpiece of flaming imagination.'

The Book of Revelation is the only book of its kind in the Bible and the greatest of the many similar works in Jewish and Christian literature of the last two centuries B.C. and the first two centuries A.D.[4] The contents are as follows : Chapter i, Introductory ; Chapter ii–iv, John's commission to write to the seven churches and a vision of heaven ; Chapters v–vii, vision of heaven and the plagues of the seven seals ; Chapters viii–xiv, vision of heaven and the plagues of the seven trumpets ; Chapters xv–xx, visions of doom on the realm of the beast ; Chapters xxi–xxii, visions of the new heaven and new earth and the New Jerusalem. Three main conceptions underlie the

1. *Books Which Have Influenced Me.*
2. Quoted by Purinton and Purinton, *Literature of the New Testament*, p.116.
3. *Selected Stories from Kipling* (New York, 1921), p.xiv.
4. One finds apocalyptic ideas similar to those of Revelation in Matthew xxiv:24, Mark xiii, Luke xxi, 1 Thess. iv:13ff., 2 Thess. ii:1ff., 1 Cor. xv:21ff., 2 Cor. xii:1ff. Similar writings are Daniel and Ezekiel (in part), 1 Enoch, 2 Enoch, The Testament of the xii Patriarchs, The Sibylline Oracles, 4 Ezra (2 Esdras of the King James Version), The Assumption of Moses, The Apocalypse of Peter, etc.

book: (1) That the coming of the Messiah would be heralded by a series of disasters; (2) that before the Messiah appeared, there would arise 'Antichrist,' in whom the forces of evil would be incarnated; and (3) that the earthly Jerusalem is the counterpart of a Jerusalem in heaven, which will be the abode of God's redeemed people.

The author and the date and the place of composition are unknown. The author could not be the John of the Fourth Gospel. The book has been dated variously from about A.D. 95 to A.D. 150. No specific place of writing may be assigned.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

THE NAMES AND ORDER OF ALL THE BOOKS OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT, AND OF THE APOCRYPHA WITH THE NUMBER OF THEIR CHAPTERS

THE BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

	CHAPTERS
Genesis	50
Exodus	40
Leviticus	27
Numbers	36
Deuteronomy	34
Joshua	24
Judges	21
Ruth	4
I. Samuel	31
II. Samuel	24
I. Kings	22
II. Kings	25
I. Chronicles	29
II. Chronicles	36
Ezra	10
Nehemiah	13
Esther	10
Job	42
Psalms	150
Proverbs	31
Ecclesiastes	12
The Song of Solomon	8
Isaiah	66
Jeremiah	52
Lamentations	5
Ezekiel	48
Daniel	12
Hosea	14
Joel	3
Amos	9
Obadiah	1
Jonah	4
Micah	7
Nahum	3
Habakkuk	3
Zephaniah	3
Haggai	2
Zechariah	14
Malachi	4

THE BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

	CHAPTERS
Matthew	28
Mark	16
Luke	24
John	21
The Acts	28
Epistle to the Romans	16
I. Corinthians	16
II. Corinthians	13
Galatians	6
Ephesians	6
Philippians	4
Colossians	4
I. Thessalonians	5
II. Thessalonians	3
I. Timothy	6
II. Timothy	4
Titus	3
Philemon	1
Hebrews	13
Epistle of James	5
I. Peter	5
II. Peter	3
I. John	5
II. John	1
III. John	1
Jude	1
Revelation	22

THE BOOKS CALLED APOCRYPHA

	CHAPTERS
I. Esdras	9
II. Esdras	16
Tobit	14
Judith	14
The Rest of Esther	6
Wisdom	19
Ecclesiasticus	15
Baruch, with the Epistle of Jeremy	6
Song of the Three Children	
The Story of Susanna	
The Idol Bel, and the Dragon	
The Prayer of Manasses	
I. Maccabees	16
II. Maccabees	15

APPENDIX B

LISTS OF APOCRYPHAL AND PSEUDEPIGRAPHICAL WRITINGS

OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS

Apocrypha of the Old Testament

To the list of Apocrypha of the King James Version (printed on p. 189) Dr. Charles adds 3 Maccabees and from it he removes 2 Esdras [4 Esdras of the Vulgate].

The Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament

The Book of Jubilees (Primitive History)
The Letter of Aristeas
The Books of Adam and Eve } (Sacred Legends)
The Martyrdom of Isaiah
1 Enoch
The Testaments of the XII Patriarchs
The Sibylline Oracles
The Assumption of Moses
2 Enoch, or the Book of the Secrets of Enoch } (Apocalypses)
2 Baruch, or the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch
3 Baruch, or the Greek Apocalypse of Baruch
4 Ezra
The Psalms of Solomon
4 Maccabees
Pirke Aboth } (Ethics and Wisdom Literature)
The Story of Ahikar
The Fragments of a Zadokite Work (History)

These books are printed by Charles in Volume II of *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament.*

Other works not included in this great collection comprise The Book of Noah, a Revelation of Moses, Prophecy of Jeremiah,

Apocalypse of Zephaniah, The Testament of Adam, Testaments of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, Apocalypse of Abraham, Life of Asenath (Wife of Joseph), Testament of Job, Testament of Solomon, Penitence of Jannes and Jambres, Psalm 151 in Greek, and three apocryphal psalms in Syriac, Magical Books of Moses, The Story of Achiacharus — Books listed by H.S.Miller in his *General Biblical Introduction* (1937), p.128.

Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphical and Extra-Canonical Books of the New Testament

The following writings of the first and second centuries A.D. are listed here as extra-canonical works to which reference is made in one or another of the historical lists of early Christian writings.[1]

The Epistles of Clement of Rome (Alexandrian Codex — 5th Century)

The Epistle of Barnabas (Sinaitic Codex — 4th Century)

The Epistles of Ignatius (the seven)

The Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians

The Shepherd of Hermas (Sinaitic Codex — 4th Century)

The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles (Didaché)

The first five titles of the foregoing lists are not included by James in his *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford, 1924) because they are writings of the Apostolic Fathers and are therefore not apocryphal. The last title James does mention. The following titles of documents printed by James indicate the nature and the abundance of such writings of the early Christian centuries : Infancy Gospels, Passion Gospels, Acts (John, Paul, Peter, Andrew, Thomas, and Philip), Epistles, Apocalypses (Peter, Paul, and Thomas). The Muratorian Canon (representing usage of Rome about A.D. 200) contains the Revelation of Peter (which some reject) and declares that The Shepherd of Hermas may be read but not publicly in the church. The Clermont List (representing probably the usage of Egypt A.D. 300) includes The Letter of Barnabas, The Shepherd, The Acts of Paul, and The Revelation

1. See Historic Lists in E.J.Goodspeed, *The Formation of the New Testament* (Chicago, 1926), pp.187–203.

of Peter. The List of Eusebius (about A.D. 325) lists as 'rejected' books, The Acts of Paul, The Shepherd, The Revelation of Peter, The Letter of Barnabas, The Teachings of the Apostles (Didaché), the Gospel according to the Hebrews. The List of Athanasius (367 A.D.) gives in a separate section The Teaching of the Apostles and The Shepherd, grouped with certain of the Old Testament Apocrypha. The list of the Sixty Canonical Books includes among other extra-canonical writings The Travels and Teachings of the Apostles, The Letter of Barnabas, The Teaching of Clement, The Teaching of Ignatius, and The Teaching of Polycarp.

APPENDIX C

APPROXIMATE CHRONOLOGICAL OUTLINE OF BIBLICAL HISTORY AND LITERATURE

HISTORY	LITERATURE
20th century B.C. – 12th century B.C. Migration of Hebrews from Arabia, settlement in Egypt, Exodus from Egypt, and Entrance into Canaan	Beginnings of Hebrew Literature – legends, stories, songs, incorporated later into the Scriptures
1190 B.C.–1040 B.C. Period of the Judges	
1040 B.C.–937 B.C. United Kingdom – Saul, David, and Solomon	
937 B.C.–586 B.C. Divided Kingdom – Judah, 937 B.C.–586 B.C.; Israel, 937 B.C.–722 B.C.	950 B.C.–650 B.C. Judean and Ephraimitic History, later incorporated into the Scriptures
722 B.C. City of Samaria taken by Sargon	750 B.C.–700 B.C. Eighth-Century Prophets (Amos, Hosea, First Isaiah, Micah)
701 B.C. Judah devastated by Sennacherib	686 B.C.–621 B.C. Deuteronomy written and adopted as Law
607 B.C. Nineveh destroyed by Chaldeans	626 B.C.–570 B.C. Jeremiah and Ezekiel; Judges, Samuel, Kings
597 B.C. Jerusalem occupied by Nebuchadnezzar	550 B.C.–400 B.C. Second Isaiah, Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Hexateuch compiled by end of the period
586 B.C.–536 B.C. Period of the Exile	500 B.C.–300 B.C. Ruth, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Song of Songs
538 B.C.–332 B.C. Persian Period	200 B.C. Daniel, Books of the Apocrypha
520 B.C.–516 B.C. Rebuilding of the temple	A.D. 50–A.D. 150 Books of the New Testament
332 B.C.–168 B.C. Period of the Greek Rule	
168 B.C.–63 B.C. Maccabean Age	
63 B.C.–A.D. 135 Roman Age	
4 B.C.–A.D. 30 Life of Jesus	
A.D. 70 Destruction of Jerusalem	
132 B.C.–A.D.135 War against Rome	

APPENDIX D

ILLUSTRATIONS OF DIFFERENCE IN STYLE BETWEEN THE KING JAMES AND THE DOUAI VERSIONS

KING JAMES

PSALM 23

The Lord is my shepherd; I shall not want.

He maketh me to lie down in green pastures: he leadeth me beside the still waters.

He restoreth my soul: he leadeth me in the paths of righteousness for his name's sake.

Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil: for thou art with me; thy rod and thy staff they comfort me.

Thou preparest a table before me in the presence of mine enemies: thou anointest my head with oil; my cup runneth over.

Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life: and I will dwell in the house of the Lord for ever.

JOB 14

Man that is born of a woman is of few days, and full of trouble.

He cometh forth like a flower,

DOUAI

PSALM 22

The Lord ruleth me: and I shall want nothing. He hath set me in a place of pasture.

He hath brought me up, on the water of refreshment: he hath converted my soul.

He hath led me on the paths of justice, for his own name's sake.

For though I should walk in the midst of the shadow of death, I will fear no evils, for thou art with me.

Thy rod and thy staff, they have comforted me.

Thou hast prepared a table before me, against them that afflict me.

Thou hast anointed my head with oil; and my chalice which inebriateth me, how goodly is it!

And thy mercy will follow me all the days of my life.

And that I may dwell in the house of the Lord unto length of days.

JOB 14

Man born of a woman, living for a short time, is filled with many miseries.

KING JAMES

and is cut down: he fleeth also as a shadow, and continueth not.

And dost thou open thine eyes upon such an one, and bringest me into judgment with thee?

Who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean? not one.

Seeing his days are determined, the number of his months are with thee, thou hast appointed his bounds that he cannot pass;

Turn from him, that he may rest, till he shall accomplish, as an hireling, his day.

For there is hope of a tree, if it be cut down, that it will sprout again, and that the tender branch thereof will not cease.

Though the root thereof wax old in the earth, and the stock thereof die in the ground;

Yet through the scent of water it will bud, and bring forth boughs like a plant.

But man dieth, and wasteth away: yea, man giveth up the ghost, and where is he?

As the waters fail from the sea, and the flood decayeth and drieth up;

So man lieth down, and riseth not: till the heavens be no more, they shall not awake, nor be raised out of their sleep.

Oh that thou wouldst hide me in the grave, that thou wouldest keep me secret, until thy wrath be past, that thou wouldest appoint me a set time, and remember me!

If a man die, shall he live again? all the days of my appointed time will I wait, till my change come.

DOUAI

Who cometh forth like a flower, and is destroyed, and fleeth as a shadow, and never continueth in the same state.

And dost thou think it meet to open thy eyes upon such an one, and to bring him into judgment with thee?

Who can make him clean that is conceived of unclean seed? is it not thou who only art?

The days of man are short, and the number of his months is with thee: thou hast appointed his bounds which cannot be passed.

Depart a little from him, that he may rest, until his wished for day come, as that of the hireling.

A tree hath hope: if it be cut, it groweth green again, and the boughs thereof sprout.

If its root be old in the earth, and its stock be dead in the dust:

At the scent of water, it shall spring, and bring forth leaves, as when it was first planted.

But man when he shall be dead, and stripped and consumed, I pray you where is he?

As if the waters should depart out of the sea, and an emptied river should be dried up:

So man when he is fallen asleep shall not rise again; till the heavens be broken, he shall not awake, nor rise up out of his sleep.

Who will grant me this, that thou mayest protect me in hell, and hide me till thy wrath pass, and appoint me a time when thou wilt remember me?

Shall man that is dead, thinkest

KING JAMES

Thou shalt call, and I will answer thee: thou wilt have a desire to the work of thine hands.

For now thou numberest my steps: dost thou not watch over my sin?

My transgression is sealed up in a bag, and thou sewest up mine iniquity.

And surely the mountain falling cometh to nought, and the rock is removed out of his place.

The waters wear the stones: thou washest away the things which grow out of the dust of the earth; and thou destroyest the hope of man.

Thou prevailest for ever against him, and he passeth: thou changest his countenance, and sendest him away.

His sons come to honour, and he knoweth it not; and they are brought low, but he perceiveth it not of them.

But his flesh upon him shall have pain, and his soul within him shall mourn.

DOUAI

thou, live again? all the days in which I am now in warfare, I expect until my change come.

Thou shalt call me, and I will answer thee: to the work of thy hands thou shalt reach out thy right hand.

Thou indeed hast numbered my steps, but spare my sins.

Thou hast sealed up my offences as it were in a bag, but hast cured my iniquity.

A mountain falling cometh to nought, and a rock is removed out of its place.

Waters wear away the stones, and with inundation the ground by little and little is washed away: so in like manner thou shalt destroy man.

Thou hast strengthened him for a little while, that he may pass away for ever: thou shalt change his face, and shalt send him away.

Whether his children come to honour or dishonour, he shall not understand.

But yet his flesh, while he shall live, shall have pain, and his soul shall mourn over him.

APPENDIX E

VARIOUS RENDERINGS OF PSALM XXIII

The Vulgate [XXII] [1]

Dominus regit me, et nihil mihi deerit:
in loco pascuae ibi me collocavit. Super aquam refectionis educavit me:
animam meam convertit. Deduxit me super semitas iustitiae, propter nomen suum.
Nam, et si ambulavero in medio umbrae mortis, non timebo mala:
quoniam tu mecum es. Virgo tua, et baculus tuus: ipsa me consolata sunt.

Parasti in conspectu meo mensam, adversus eos, qui tribulant me.
Impinguasti in oleo caput meum: et calix meus inebrians quam praeclarus est!
Et misericordia tua subsequetur me omnibus diebus vitae meae: Et ut inhabitem in domo Domini, in longitudinem dierum.

Paraphrase by George Buchanan [2]

Quid frustra rabidi me petitis canes?
Livor propositum cur premis improbum?
Sicut pastor ovem, me Dominus regit:
Nil deerit penitus mihi.

Per campi viridis mitia pabula,
Quae veris teneri pingit amoenitas,
Nunc pascor placidè nunc faturum latus
Fessus molliter explico.

1. *Biblia Sacra*, ed. P. Michael Hetzenauer, 1914.
2. *Psalmorum Davidis Paraphrasis Poetica* (Lutetiae, 1575), p.42.

Purae rivus aquae leniter astrepens
Membris restituit roboro languidis.
Et blando recreat fomite spiritus
Solis sub face torrida.

Saltus quum peteret mens vaga devios,
Errorum teneras illecebras sequens,
Retraxit miserans denuò me bonus
Pastor justitiae in viam.

Nec si per trepidas luctifica manu
Intentet tenebras mors mihi vulnera,
Formidem duce te pergere : me pedo
Securum facies tuo.

Tu mensas epulis accumulas, merum
Tu plenis pateris sufficis : & caput
Unguento exhilaras. Conficit aemulos,
Dum spectant, dolor anxius.

Me nunquam bonitas destituet tua,
Profusúsque bonis perpetuò favor :
Et non sollicitae longa domi tuae
Vitae tempora transigam.

Paraphrase by I. Watts[1]

The Lord my Shepherd is,
I shall be well supplied ;
Since he is mine, and I am his,
What can I want beside ?

He leads me to the place
Where heavenly pasture grows,
Where living waters gently pass,
And full salvation flows.

1. *Parish Psalmody* (Phila. 1849) p.76.

If e'er I go astray,
He doth my soul reclaim;
And guides me in his own right way,
For his most holy name.

While he affords his aid,
I cannot yield to fear;
Tho' I should walk through death's dark shade,
My Shepherd's with me there.

In spite of all my foes,
Thou dost my table spread;
My cup with blessings overflows,
And joy exalts my head.

The bounties of thy love
Shall crown my following days;
Nor from thy house will I remove,
Nor cease to speak thy praise.

APPENDIX F

BIBLICAL ALLUSIONS

Absent in body, but present in spirit (1 Corinthians 5:3a)
All things to all men (1 Corinthians 9:22b)
Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending (Revelation 1:8a)
Ark of bulrushes (Exodus 2:3)
Beat their swords into ploughshares (Isaiah 2:4b)
Birthright sold for pottage (Genesis 25:29–34)
Blind lead the blind (Luke 6:39b)
Break up your fallow ground (Hosea 10:12)
Bruised reed (Isaiah 42:3 ; Matthew 12:20)
Burden and heat of the day (Matthew 20:12)
Camel . . . and the eye of needle (Mark 10:25)
Can any good thing come out of Nazareth ? (John 1:46b)
Can the blind lead the blind ? (Luke 6:39b)
Can the Ethiopian change his skin ? (Jeremiah 13:23a)
Coat of many colours (Genesis 37:3)
Counteth the cost (Luke 14:28)
Daniel come to judgment (See Daniel 6:17–29)
Deep calleth unto deep (Psalms 42:7a)
Den of thieves (Matthew 21:13)
Doubting Thomas (See John 20:25)
Dreamer of dreams (Deuteronomy 13:1a)
Eaten a sour grape (Jeremiah 31:29 and Ezekiel 18:2b)
Entertain angels unawares (Hebrews 13:2)
Evil communications corrupt good manners (1 Corinthians 15:33)
Faith that moves mountains (1 Corinthians 13:2)
Faith without works is dead (James 2:20b)
False prophets in sheep's clothing (Matthew 7:15)
Fiery furnace (Daniel 3:6)
Filthy lucre (1 Timothy 3:3b)
First shall be last (Mark 10:31)
Flesh pots of Egypt (Exodus 16:3)
Fool in his folly (Proverbs 17:12)
Fountains of the deep (Genesis 8:2)
Four corners of the earth (Revelation 7:1)
Four winds of heaven (Daniel 7:2)
Gallio cared for none of those things (Acts 18:17)
Get thee behind me, Satan (Mark 8:33b)
Golden calf (See Exodus 32)
Good name is rather to be chosen than great riches (Proverbs 22:1a)

Good old age (Genesis 25:8)
Go to the ant, thou sluggard (Proverbs 6:6)
Great is truth (1 Esdras 4:41b)
Green pastures (Psalms 23:2a)
Hands of Esau (Genesis 27:22b)
Heap coals of fire on his head (Romans 12:20)
He may run that readeth it (Habakkuk 2:2b)
Hewers of wood and drawers of water (Joshua 9:21b)
House divided against itself (Mark 3:25)
House not made with hands (2 Corinthians 5:1c)
House upon the rock (See Luke 6:48 and 49)
I have fought a good fight (2 Timothy 4:7)
Ishmael, Ishmaelite (Genesis 16:11,12)
Jawbone of an ass (Judges 15:16)
Labour of love (1 Thessalonians 1:3b)
Land flowing with milk and honey (Exodus 3:8c)
Laodiceans, lukewarm (Revelation 3:14–16)
Let us now praise famous men (Ecclesiasticus 44:1)
Lick the dust (Isaiah 49:23b)
A little child shall lead them (Isaiah 11:6c)
Love is strong as death (Song of Songs 8:6b)
Love of money is root of all evil (1 Timothy 6:10a)
Man after his own heart (1 Samuel 13:14b)
Man doth not live by bread only (Deuteronomy 8:3b)
Man whom the king delighteth to honour (Esther 6:6b)
Mary and Martha (Luke 10:38–42)
Mote and the beam (Matthew 7:3)
Nether or upper millstone (Deuteronomy 24:6a)
New wine into old bottles (Luke 5:37a)
Not done in a corner (Acts 26:26c)
Old wives' fables (1 Timothy 4:7a)
Out of the depths (Psalms 130:1)
Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings (Psalms 8:2a)
Patience of Job (James 5:11b)
Pearl of great price (Matthew 13:46)
Pearls before swine (Matthew 7:6b)
Plagues (Exodus 7:14–12:30)
Powers that be (Romans 13:1c)
Pride of life (1 John 2:16)
Prophet not without honour (Matthew 13:57b)
Quails and manna (Exodus 16:11–15)
Quit yourselves like men (1 Samuel 4:9a)
Remember Lot's wife (Luke 17:32; Genesis 19:26)
Remove not the ancient landmarks (Proverbs 22:28)
Render unto Caesar (Luke 20:25)
Righteous overmuch (Ecclesiastes 7:16a)
Rod of iron (Psalms 2:9a)
Sabbath was made for man (Mark 2:27)
Samson's riddle (Judges 14:12–18)

Saved as by fire (1 Corinthians 3: 15b)
Saying, Peace, peace ; where there is no peace (Jeremiah 6:14b)
Set thine house in order (2 Kings 20:1c)
Soft answer turneth away wrath (Proverbs 15:1a)
Sounding brass and tinkling cymbal (1 Corinthians 13:1b)
Sound of many waters (Revelation 1:15b)
Stars in their courses (Judges 5: 20b)
Still small voice (1 Kings 19:12c)
Strangers within the gates (See Hebrews 13:2)
Sweat of thy face (See Genesis 3:19a)
Swifter than a weaver's shuttle (Job 7:6a)
They that go down to the sea in ships (Psalms 107:23a)
Thirty pieces of silver (Matthew 27:3c)
Thorn in the flesh (2 Corinthians 12:7b)
Tho some of you with Pilate wash your hands (See Matthew 27: 24)
Touch not mine anointed (1 Chronicles 16:22a)
Turn the other cheek (Matthew 5:39b)
Twinkling of an eye (1 Corinthians 15:52a)
Under his vine and fig tree (Micah 4:4a)
Unstable as water (Genesis 49:4a)
Unto the pure all things are pure (Titus 1:15a)
Use not vain repetitions (Matthew 6:7a)
Valley of death (Psalms 23:4a)
Valley of decision (Joel 3:14a)
Vanity of vanities (Ecclesiastes 1:2)
Wages of sin is death (Romans 6:23a)
Ways past finding out (Romans 11:33c)
Weary in well-doing (Galatians 6:9a)
Weighed in the balances and found wanting (Daniel 5:27)
What is truth? (John 18:38a)
We are the people (See Job 12: 2a)
When I became a man, I put childish things (1 Corinthians 13:11)
Where there is no vision, the people perisheth (Proverbs 29: 18a)
Wind of doctrine (Ephesians 4: 14b)
Wings of the morning (Psalms 139:9a)
Woman whom thou gavest to be with me (Genesis 3:12a)
Word in season (Proverbs 15: 23b)
Work out your own salvation (Philippians 2:12c)
Ye cannot serve God and mammon (Matthew 6:24d)
Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free (John 8:32)
Your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour (1 Peter 5:8b)
Your old men shall dream dreams and your young men shall see visions (Joel 2:28b)

APPENDIX G

DEFINITIONS

Apocrypha (from Greek words meaning 'hidden from'). The word is applied, in connection with Bible literature, usually to the fourteen (more or less) books which were added to the Hebrew bible when it was translated into Greek in the last three centuries before Christ and thus formed a part of the Septuagint. The meaning of 'spurious' or uncanonical was attached to these writings about the time of Jerome (end 4th Century). See Text, p.142.

Canon. The Greek word, borrowed from the Hebrew, meant 'a straight rod'; hence a 'measuring rod,' hence a 'rule' or 'standard.' As a technical term in reference to the Scriptures, it was used for the first time about A.D. 380, and meant the existence of a certain number of books which were held to conform to a standard, and so we have 'the Canon of the Old Testament,' meaning books approved by the church.

Codex. A manuscript in book form—flat sheets instead of in a roll.

Cursive Manuscript. A 'running hand' written document.

Heptateuch. See Pentateuch.

Hexateuch. See Pentateuch.

Muratori, The Canon of (The Muratorian Fragment). A Latin translation of a Greek document, dated about A.D. 170, containing a list of New Testament writings. So called from its discoverer, Muratori, librarian of the Ambrosian Library, Milan.

Palimpsest. Original writing erased and the sheet used for a new composition.

Papyrus Manuscript. Made from the pith of the stalk of the papyrus plant, pith being cut lengthwise into thin strips, laid

side by side, a second layer being placed at right angles to those of the first, pressed, dried, smoothed, preserved in rolls.

Parchment or vellum. Material made from the skin of animals.

Pentateuch (from Greek words meaning 'five-volume'). The first five books of the Bible—Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy. To these books, is attached by modern scholars, Joshua (forming the Hexateuch) and sometimes Judges (forming the Heptateuch).

Pseudepigrapha. False or spurious writings, purporting to have been written by Bible personages or in Bible times, having to do with Jewish or Christian religion, and dating shortly before and after the beginning of the Christian Era.

Septuagint. The Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible, to which were added several books now called 'The Apocrypha,' dating from the last three centuries before the Christian Era. The name derives from the legend that the translation of the Hebrew Bible, at least of the Pentateuch, was made by seventy or seventy-two scholars, who, working separately or in pairs, at the end of seventy or seventy-two days according to one tradition, produced translations identical in every respect.

Translation. As applied to the Bible, an independent rendering of the text from the original languages, Hebrew and Greek, (and the Latin) into another language. Thus Tyndale's translation of the New Testament; but the King James Version.

Uncial Manuscript. A manuscript in capital letters.

Version. See Translation.

Vulgate (Latin Vulgatus). The Latin Bible, now used by the Roman Catholic Church, representing virtually Jerome's translation, from the Hebrew, Greek, and older Latin translations, of the close of the 4th Century A.D., in general use by the church through the Middle Ages, and finally sanctioned by the church in 1546.

NAMES AND TITLES

Aquila (First half of 2d Century). Made a literal Greek translation of the Old Testament from the Hebrew which does not contain the Apocrypha. Fragments only exist.

Athanasius (*c.* A.D. 296–373). Bishop of Alexandria, leader in conflict with the Arian heresy.

Augustine (A.D. 354–430). Born near Hippo in North Africa, Bishop of Hippo (395), founder of the Augustinian Order, wrote *Confessions*, *City of God*, and many theological and philosophical works.

Basil the Great (A.D. 329–379). Born at Caesarea, educated at Constantinople and Athens, Bishop of Caesarea (A.D. 370).

John Chrysostom (*c.* A.D. 347–407). Born at Antioch, Patriarch of Constantinople (A.D. 397).

Clement of Alexandria (*c.* A.D. 150–*c.*220). Lived for the greater part of his life in Alexandria, where about A.D. 190 he became president of the 'catechetical school,' a Bible and Missionary Training Institute.

Clement of Rome (*c.* A.D. 30–*c.*100). Name attached to *First Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians* (A.D. 96), which appears in the Codex Alexandrinus.

Complutensian Polyglot (1514–1517). Proper adjective 'Complutensian' from Complutum, ancient name of Alcala. Six fol.vols.—Hebrew and Greek Texts, Vulgate, Chaldee paraphrase of Pentateuch (with a Latin translation), Greek and Hebrew grammars and a Hebrew Dictionary.

Cyril of Jerusalem (*c.* A.D. 315–386). Bishop of Jerusalem (after A.D. 350).

Diatesseron (Tatian's Diatesseron) (*c.* A.D. 170). A composite gospel in Syriac based on the four canonical gospels.

Didaché. 'The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles' (*c.* A.D. 100).

Eusebius (*c.* A.D. 260–*c.*340). Bishop of Caesarea. Present at the Council of Nicaea (A.D. 325), at the Council of Antioch (A.D.

331), and at the Synod of Jerusalem (A.D. 335). Author of *Ecclesiastical History* (A.D. 324).

Hexapla (Origen's Hexapla) (*c.* A.D. 250). A six-parallel-column Old Testament: Current Hebrew text, Hebrew text in Greek letters, Aquila's translation from the Hebrew, Symmachus' version, the Septuagint revised by Origen himself, Theodotion's version.

Ignatius (*c.* A.D. 30–*c.* 107–116). To him have been ascribed seven letters – from Smyrna to the Ephesians, the Magnesians, the Trallians, and the Romans; from Troas, to the Philadelphians, the Smyrnaeans, and Polycarp.

Irenaeus (*c.* A.D. 130–*c.* 202). A native of Asia Minor, who seems to have spent most of his life in Southern Gaul, where he became Bishop of Lyons (A.D. 178). Most important work is *Against Heresies*, a refutation of Gnosticism.

Jerome (Eusebius Hieronymus) (*c.* A.D. 340–420). Born at Stridon, Dalmatia, lived at Rome, Antioch, Constantinople, Bethlehem, and in Egypt, studied Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, became Secretary to Pope Damasus, under whose direction he began his translation of the Bible into Latin, using the Greek Septuagint, the old Latin texts, and the Hebrew (A.D. 383–405).

Josephus (*c.* A.D. 37–*c.*95). A Jewish priest, who commanded the forces in Galilee during the revolt, but was taken prisoner by the Romans. The work of his which concerns most intimately the Bible is the *Antiquities*, a history of the Jews from the Creation to the outbreak of the Jewish War, written in A.D. 95.

Justin Martyr (*c.* A.D. 100–*c.*165). Born at Shechem in Samaria and martyred in Rome. Wrote two *Apologies for the Christians* and *Dialogue with Tryphon the Jew.*

Koine. Current Greek speech of Alexandria and Palestine of late B.C. and early A.D.

Origen (*c.* A.D. 185–*c.*254). Born in Alexandria, President of the school at Alexandria (A.D. 203), withdrew to Palestine at the time of the persecutions of Emperor Caracalla, returned

to Alexandria where he stayed till about A.D. 232, when he was excommunicated, went to Caesarea, opened a new school there, endured persecution, imprisoned in Tyre during the reign of Decius, and died shortly thereafter. He has been called the Father of Biblical Criticism and Exposition.

Papias. Reported on by Eusebius (See III.39.1–17). A contemporary of Polycarp (*c.* A.D. 69–155).

Peshitta (= simple, common, literal). The Syriac Vulgate version of the Old Testament, dating probably *c.* A.D. 150, contained all of the books of the Old Testament, with the omission of Chronicles, which, with the Apocrypha, was added later. The Syriac Vulgate or Authorized Version of the New Testament contains all of the New Testament books except 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, Jude, and Revelation. In present form, early fifth century A.D.

Philo (*c.*20 B.C.–*c.* A.D. 40). A Jewish philosopher of Alexandria, called Philo Judaeus, who wrote in Greek a commentary on the Pentateuch and various philosophical treatises.

Polycarp (*c.* A.D. 69–155). Bishop of the Church of Smyrna. *Epistle to the Philippians*, only one of his epistles that has survived.

Symmachus (*c.* end of 2d Century). Made a free translation into Greek of the Old Testament (A.D. 200), which does not contain the Apocrypha.

Tatian. An Assyrian writer, a disciple of Justin Martyr, who composed between A.D. 160 and 170 the *Diatesseron*, a harmony of the Gospels.

Tertullian (*c.* A.D. 160–*c.*230). Father of Latin Christianity, born in Carthage, his father being a Roman centurion, became presbyter, embraced Montanism about A.D. 200, was a prolific writer on ecclesiastical subjects. The words 'New Testament' used, for the first time, by him or by one of his contemporaries.

Theodotion (*c.* middle 2d Century). Made a thorough revision of the Septuagint, which evidently did not contain all the Apocrypha.

APPENDIX H

BIBLICAL THEMES IN LITERATURE

A Selected Short-Title List of works in English literature based on Biblical themes, of similar works in other literatures, and of works in world literature parallel in theme or type to parts of Bible literature.

[This list concerns itself in the main with the influence of Biblical themes in world literature. The extent of the general influence of the Bible as to allusions, phraseology, moral teaching direct and indirect, and style – even if thought of in connection with English literature only – is so vast as to preclude the possibility even of limited reference in such a list as here follows. Specific studies of various authors, such as Shakespeare, Milton, Bunyan, Shelley, Tennyson, Browning, Ruskin, Carlyle, Arnold, Hardy, Stevenson, are, of course, accessible to students of the Bible, and such studies suggest the possibilities of similar studies for the many other authors in English literature on whom the Bible has exerted so profound an influence as to content and style. It is hoped that this list will suggest the possibilities of interesting and significant collateral reading in connection with a study of the literature of the Bible.]

General

Religious lyrics of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries – See Carleton Brown, *English Lyrics of the Thirteenth Century* ; *Religious Lyrics of the Fourteenth Century* ; and (to appear shortly) *Religious Lyrics of the Fifteenth Century*.

Mystery or Miracle Plays. Cycles of plays – York, Coventry, Towneley, Chester, Digby – in England of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, covering the whole Bible story from Genesis to Revelation.

Dramas of the religious orders — Jesuit, Benedictine, and others — of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries in Western Europe.

William Caxton — Edition of *The Golden Legend*, translated into English (Bible stories added to Voragine's original book).

Hans Sachs (Many dramas and poems on Biblical themes).

John Bunyan — *Pilgrim's Progress.*

Byron — *Hebrew Melodies.*

G.A.Kohut, Ed. — *A Hebrew Anthology.*

Oskar Dähnhardt — *Natursagen* (Vol.I, *Sagen zum Alten Testament*).

THE OLD TESTAMENT

Genesis

Babylonian Epic of Creation — See Langdon, *Mythology of All Races — Semitic*, pp.277–325 ; Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible*, seventh edition, pp.279–294.

Frazer — *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament.*

Gilgamesh — English Translation by W.E.Leonard.

Ovid ' The Creation ' in *Metamorphoses.*

Voluspo, from *The Poetic Edda.*

Milton — *Paradise Lost.*

Marcus Cook Connelly — *Green Pastures* (In connection with this, see also R.Bradford, *Ol' man Adam an' his chillun*).

Vondel — *Lucifer.*

Byron — *Cain.*

Leconte de Lisle — *Quaïn.*

Victor Hugo — *La Conscience* (Cain story).

Théodore de Béze — *Abraham's Sacrifice* (English translation, ed. by M.W.Wallace).

Thomas Mann — *Joseph and his Brothers* ; *The Young Joseph* ; *Joseph in Egypt.*

H.W.Freeman — *Joseph and his Brethren.*

Charles J. Wells — *Joseph and his Brethren.*

Louis N. Parker — *Joseph and his Brethren.*

(Tale of the Two Brothers.) See Erman, *Literature of the Ancient Egyptians*, pp.150–161.

EXODUS

Japanese Myth (Izanagi and Izanami). See *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, col. 3206, 3207.

Mahabharata (Story of Karna). See F.A.Steel, *A Tale of Indian Heroes* (New York), Chap.XVI and Chap. XIX.

The Caedmonian *Exodus.*

Barton — *Archaeology and the Bible*, p.375 (Sargon story).

Mysterious-origin stories [e.g., King Arthur, Gilgamesh, Oedipus, Romulus, Cyrus].

JUDGES

War poems of other literatures (Parallel to *Song of Deborah*).

George Buchanan — *Jephthah.* Translated from the Latin into English.

John Christopherson — *Jephthah.* Translated from the Greek into English.

Stephen Phillips — *The Maiden on the Mountains* (The Daughter of Jephthah story).

Tennyson — ' Jephthah's Daughter,' in *Dream of Fair Women.*

Louis Untermeyer — *Daughters of Jephthah.*

Palmer — *The Samson Saga* (Parallels to the Samson story).

Milton — *Samson Agonistes.*

Alfred de Vigny — *La Colère de Samson.*

Andreyev — *Samson in Chains* ; translated by Henri Bernstein.

The Story of Sinuhe (Parallel to the Samson story). See A. Erman — *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians*, pp.14–29.

SAMUEL AND KINGS

Stories of Friendship (Parallel to the story of David and Jonathan) ; e.g., Damon and Pythias, Achilles and Patrocles, Nisus and Euryalus, Pericles and Phidias, Roland and Oliver.

Elegies (Parallel to David's Lament) ; e.g., Milton's *Lycidas*,

Shelley's *Adonais*, Tennyson's *In Memoriam*, Arnold's *Thyrsis*, Emerson's *In Memoriam*.
Browning — *Saul*.
Vittorio Alfieri — *Saul*.
André Gide — *Saül*.
Dryden — *Absalom and Achitophel*.
Stephen Vincent Benét — *King David*.
Swinburne — *The Masque of Queen Bersabe*.
George Peele — *The Love of King David and Fair Bethsabe*.
Stephen Phillips — *The Sin of David*.
Racine — *Athalie*.
John Masefield — *A King's Daughter* (The Jezebel story).
Henry Van Dyke — *The House of Rimmon* (Naaman the Leper story).

Daniel

William Stearns Davis — *Belshazzar*.

Job

Plato — ' Symposium ' in *Dialogues*.
Sophocles — *Œdipus Coloneus*.
Aeschylus — *Prometheus Bound*.
Goethe — *Faust* (Prologue in Heaven).
Shelley — *Prometheus Unbound*.
Andreyev — *Anathema*.
Mark Twain — *The Mysterious Stranger*.
H.G.Wells — *The Undying Fire*.
Henley — *Invictus*.

Psalms

For parallels to the Psalms, see Erman, *Literature of the Ancient Egyptians*, pp.283–291 ; Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible*, pp. 497–505.

For metrical versions of the Psalms, see Sternhold and Hopkins, 1562 ; George Buchanan (Latin), 1566 ; Francis Rous (Scottish translation), 1643 ; Tate and Brady, 1696 ; Dr. Watts, 1719.

Proverbs

For a list of writings of the 'wise men,' see O.S.Rankin, *Israel's Wisdom Literature*, p.1 n.

For references to parallels to *Proverbs*, see Barton, pp.506–515; Erman, pp.54–66; Peet (*A Comparative Study*, etc.), pp.99–114.

The Instruction of Ptahhotep — Erman, op.cit., pp.54–66.

Epictetus — *The Enchiridion.*

The Sayings of Confucius.

Thomas à Kempis — *Of the Imitation of Christ.*

Franklin — *Poor Richard's Almanac.*

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Marcus Aurelius — *Meditations.*

Lucretius — *On the Nature of Things.*

Pascal — *Thoughts.*

Schopenhauer — *Counsels and Maxims.*

Sir Thomas Browne — *Religio Medici.*

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Leopardi (Verse and Prose).

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Racine — *Esther.*

Song of Songs

For parallels to *Song of Songs*, see G.H.Dalman, *Palästinisches Diwan*, especially pp.64–88 and 184–216; Erman, pp.246–248; Barton, pp.516–521.

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The Anglo-Saxon *Judith.*

Sixt Birck — *Judith.*

Friedrich Hebbel — *Judith.*

T.B.Aldrich — *Judith of Bethulia.*

Arnold Bennett — *Judith.*

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Plutarch — *Lives.*
Xenophon — *Memorabilia.*
Cynewulf — *Christ.*
Milton — *Paradise Regained.*
Renan — *Life of Jesus.*
Papini — *Life of Christ.*
John Masefield — *Good Friday.*
Henry Sienkiewicz — *Quo Vadis.*
Stephen Phillips — *Herod.*
Friedrich Hebbel — *Herodes und Mariamne.*
Alfred de Vigny — *Le Jardin des Oliviers.*
Milton — *Hymn on the Morning of Christ's Nativity.*
Tennyson — *The Holy Grail.*
Browning — *Christmas Eve and Easter Day.*
A.H.Clough — *Easter Day.*
Klopstock — *Messias.*
Pope — *The Messiah.*
Browning — *The Epistle of Karshish.*
Arnold — *Saint Brandan* (The Story of Judas Iscariot).
Oscar Wilde — *Salome.*
Prodigal Son — See *Misogonus* ; Gascoigne's *Glasse of Governement.*
George Moore — *The Brook Kerith.*

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Thucydides — *Peloponnesian* War. Speeches — The Corinthians I :68–71 ; The Athenians I :72–78 ; Pericles I :140–144 ; Funeral Speech by Pericles II :35–46 ; Alcibiades VI :89–92.
D.Merejkowski — *The Death of the Gods* (Julian the Apostate).
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LETTERS

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Seneca – *Epistles.* No.XII – On Old Age; No.XLI – On the God Within Us; No.XLVII – On Master and Slave; No. LXXI – On the Supreme Good; No.LXXVI – On Learning Wisdom in Old Age; No.XCII – On the Happy Life.

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